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187

THE WORKS

OF

FRANCIS BACON.

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Bacon, Francis, viscount St. Albans,

THE

WORKS

OF

FRANCIS BACON,

BARON OF VERULAM, VISCOUNT ST. ALBANS, AND
LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND.

Collected and Edited

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IN

HENRICUM PRINCIPEM WALLIÆ

ELOGIUM FRANCISCI BACONI.

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PREFACE.

THIS notice of the character of Prince Henry was first printed by Birch in his edition of Bacon's works, 1763, from a manuscript in the Harleian Collection (1893, fo. 75.); the only copy I have met with. It is written in a hand of the time; I think in that of one of Bacon's own people. At any rate there can be no doubt as to the authorship: it bears all the marks of Bacon's style; of which it is one of the best specimens. Birch conjectured that it was intended to be sent to De Thou for use in his history, as the memorial of Elizabeth had been. This is very probable. But I am not aware that anything is known about it, beyond what it carries on its face. Neither does it seem to require any explanation or illustration; unless it be worth while to say that the rumour mentioned in the last sentence — the rumour that Prince Henry died by poison — was revived during the trial of the murderers of Sir Thomas Overbury, and obtained for a while an importance which it did not deserve, from some dark words prematurely dropped by Sir Edward Coke. It seems that Franklin, the apothecary who was concerned in the poisoning of Overbury, finding himself condemned to death, began to talk of certain dreadful disclosures which he

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could make if he liked; how more were to be poisoned than were yet known; how the Earl and Countess of Somerset had the most aspiring minds that ever were heard of; how the Earl never loved the Prince nor the Lady Elizabeth; how strange it was that the King kept an outlandish physician about his person and the person of the Prince deceased; "thereon" he said "lieth a long tale;" how he knew things he was ashamed to speak of; and lastly (to come to the point) how "he could make one discovery that should deserve his life:" with other things of the same kind — devices of a condemned man to put off the day of his hanging. On the strength of these hints, and (strange to say) before he had made further inquiry, Coke gave out a mysterious intimation in open court of iniquities not yet brought to light, "which he knew of;" and even added a direct allusion to the death of the Prince, as a mystery concerning which "he knew somewhat." Hearing such things from the oracle on the Bench, the people naturally looked for the revelation of some new horror; and when nothing came, they as naturally supposed that it had been for some mysterious reason hushed up, and so betook themselves to strange conjectures, which begot a brood of strange rumours. But I believe the whole truth is that when Franklin's disclosures came to be investigated, it was found (as might have been expected) that there was nothing in them. Several examinations may be seen in the State Paper Office, taken down in Coke's own hand, evidently suggested by the information of Franklin, and aiming to elicit evidence in corroboration of it; but they come to nothing whatever, beyond a few

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vague rumours and old wives' stories. These papers sufficiently explain the only thing connected with Prince Henry's death which ever required explanation, — namely what it was that Coke "knew" about it. What he *said* was quite enough to account for all the rest.

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IN

HENRICUM PRINCIPEM WALLIÆ

ELOGIUM FRANCISCI BACONI.[1]

Henricus primogenitus regis magnæ Britanniæ, princeps Walliæ, antea spe beatus, nunc memoria felix, diem suum obiit 6.° Nov. anno 1612. Is magno totius regni luctu et desiderio extinctus est, utpote adolescens, qui animos hominum nec offendisset nec satiasset. Excitaverat autem propter bonam indolem multiplices apud plurimos omnium ordinum spes, nec ob brevitatem vitæ frustraverat. Illud inprimis accessit, quod in causa religionis firmus vulgo habebatur; prudentioribus quoque hoc animo penitus insederat, adversus insidias conjurationum (cui malo ætas nostra vix remedium repperit) patri eum instar præsidii et scuti fuisse; adeo ut et religionis et regis apud populum amor in eum redundaret, et in æstimationem jacturæ merito annumeraretur.

Erat corpore validus et erectus, staturâ mediocri, decorâ membrorum compage, incessu regio, facie oblongâ et in maciem inclinante, habitu plenior, vultu composito, oculorum motu magis sedato quam forti.

[1] Harl. MSS. 1893, fo. 75.

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Inerant quoque et in fronte severitatis signa, et in ore nonnihil fastus. Sed tamen si quis ultra exteriora illa penetraverat, et eum obsequio debito et sermone tempestivo deliniverat, utebatur eo benigno et facili, ut alius longe videretur colloquio quam aspectu; talisque prorsus erat qui faman sui facile excitatet moribus dissimilem. Laudis et gloriæ fuit proculdubio appetens, et ad omnem speciem boni et auram decoris commovebatur; quod adolescenti pro virtutibus est. Nam et arma ei in honore erant ac viri militares; quin et ipse quiddam bellicum spirabat; et magnificentiæ operum (licet pecuniæ alioquin satis parcus) deditus erat; amator insuper antiquitatis et artium; literis quoque plus honoris attribuit quam temporis. In moribus ejus nihil laudandum magis fuit, quam quod in omni genere officiorum probe institutus videbatur et congruus. Filius regi patri mire obsequens, etiam reginam multo cultu demerebat, erga fratrem indulgens; sororem vero unice amabat, quam etiam ore (quantum potuit virilis forma ad eximiam virginalem pulchritudinem collata) referebat. Etiam magistri et educatores pueritiæ ejus (quod raro fieri solet) magna in gratia apud eum manserant; sermone[1] vero obsequii idem exactor et memor; denique in quotidiano vitæ genere, et assignatione horarum ad singula vitæ munia, magis quam pro ætate constans atque ordinatus. Affectus ei inerant non nimium vehementes, et potius æquales quam magni. Etenim de rebus amatoriis mirum in illa ætate silentium, ut prorsus lubricum illud adolescentiæ suæ tempus in tanta fortuna et valetudine satis prospera absque aliquâ insigni notâ amorum transigeret. Nemo reperiebatur in aulâ ejus apud eum præpotens, aut in ani-

[1] *sermonem* in MS.

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mo ejus validus; quin et studia ipsa quibus capiebatur maxime, potius tempora patiebantur quam excessus, et magis repetita erant per vices, quam quod extaret aliquod unum quod reliqua superaret et compesceret; sive ea moderatio fuit, sive in natura non admodum præcoci, sed lente[1] maturescente, non cernebantur adhuc quæ prævalitura erant. Ingenio certe pollebat, eratque et curiosus satis et capax; sed sermone tardior et tanquam impeditus; et tamen si quis diligenter obser vaverat ea quæ ab eo proferebantur, sive quæstionis vim obtinebant sive sententiæ, ad rem omnino erant, et captum non vulgarem arguebant; ut in illa loquendi tarditate et raritate, judicium ejus magis suspensum videretur et anxium, quam infirmum aut hebes. Interim audiendi miris modis patiens, etiam in negotiis quæ in longitudinem porrigebantur, idque cum attentione et sine tædio; ut raro animo peregrinaretur, aut fessa mente aliud ageret, sed ad ea quæ dicebantur aut agebantur animum adverteret atque applicaret; quod magnam ei (si vita suppetiisset) prudentiam spondebat. Certe in illius principis natura plurima erant obscura, neque judicio cujuspiam patefacienda, sed tempore, quod ei præreptum est; attamen quæ apparebant optima erant, quod famæ satis est. Mortuus est ætatis anno decimo nono, ex febre contumaci, quæ ubique a magnis et (insulanis) fere insolitis siccitatibus ac fervoribus orta, per æstatem populariter grassabatur, sed raro funere; dein sub autumnum erat facta lethalior. Addidit fama, atrocior (ut ille ait) erga dominantium exitus, suspicionem veneni. Sed cum nulla ejus rei extarent indicia, præsertim in ventriculo, quod præcipue a veneno pati solet, is sermo cito evanuit.

[1] *lentó* in MS.

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MEMORIAL

OF

HENRY PRINCE OF WALES.

Henry, eldest son of the King of Great Britain, late of blessed hope, now of happy memory, died on the 6th of November, 1612. He died to the great grief and regret of the whole kingdom, as being a youth who had neither offended men's minds nor satiated them. The goodness of his disposition had awakened manifold hopes among numbers of all ranks, nor had he lived long enough to disappoint them. Moreover, as among the people generally he had the reputation of being firm in the cause of religion; so the wiser sort were deeply impressed with the feeling that he had been to his father as a guard and shield against the machinations of conspirators, — a mischief for which our age has hardly found a remedy; so that the love of the people both for religion and for the King overflowed upon him, and was rightly taken into account in estimating his loss.

In body he was strong and erect, of middle height, his limbs gracefully put together, his gait kinglike, his face long and somewhat lean, his habit rather full, his

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countenance composed, and the motion of his eyes rather sedate than powerful. His forehead bore marks of severity, his mouth had a touch of pride. And yet when one penetrated beyond those outworks, and soothed him with due attention and seasonable discourse, one found him gentle and easy to deal with; so that he seemed quite another man in conversation than his aspect promised; and altogether he was one who might easily get himself a reputation at variance with his manners. Of praise and glory he was doubtless covetous; and was stirred with every show of good and every breath of honour: which in a young man goes for virtues. For both arms and military men were in honour with him; nor was he himself without something of a warlike spirit; he was given also to magnificence of works, though otherwise frugal enough of money; he was fond of antiquity and arts: and a favourer of learning, though rather in the honour he paid it than the time he spent upon it. In his morals there was nothing more to be praised than that in every kind of duty he seemed to be well trained and conformable. He was a wonderfully obedient son to the King his father, very attentive also to the Queen, kind to his brother; but his sister he especially loved; whom also he resembled in countenance, as far as a man's face can be compared with that of a very beautiful girl. The masters and tutors of his youth also (which rarely happens) continued in great favour with him. In discourse, as he exacted respect from others, so he observed it himself. And finally in his daily way of life, and the assignation of several hours for its several duties, he was constant and regular above the habit of his years. His passions were not over

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vehement, and rather equable than great. For of love matters there was wonderfully little talk, considering his age: insomuch that he passed that extremely slippery time of his early manhood, in so great a fortune and in very good health, without being particularly noted for any affairs of that kind. There was no one in his court that had great power with him, or that possessed a strong hold on his mind. The very pursuits in which he took most delight had rather their times than their excesses; and were repeated each in its turn, rather than some one allowed to take the lead and overrule the rest; whether that were moderation and self-restraint, or that in a nature not very precocious, but ripening slowly, it did not yet appear which would ultimately prevail. In understanding he was certainly strong, and did not want either curiosity or capacity. But in speech he was somewhat slow, and as it were embarrassed; and yet if you observed diligently the things he said, whether in asking questions or expressing opinions, they were ever to the point, and argued no ordinary capacity; so that his slow and seldom speaking seemed to come rather from suspense and solicitude than weakness or dulness of judgment. In the meantime he was a wonderfully patient listener, even in affairs which grew to length, and that attentively, and without growing weary; so that he seldom let his thoughts wander or his mind lose its power of attention, but kept it still fixed and applied to that which was saying or doing: a habit which promised great wisdom in him if he had lived. Many points there were indeed in this prince's nature which were obscure, and could not be discovered by any man's judgment, but only by time, which was not allowed

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him. Those however which appeared were excellent; which is enough for fame. He died in the nineteenth year of his age of a malignant fever, which — springing from the great heats and droughts, greater than islanders are accustomed to, — was very general among the people during the summer, though few died of it; but became towards autumn more fatal. Rumour, ever more malignant (as Tacitus says) upon the deaths of princes, suggested poison. But as no symptoms of such a thing appeared, especially in the stomach which is commonly most affected by poison, that report soon died away.

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IMAGINES CIVILES

JULII CÆSARIS ET AUGUSTI CÆSARIS.

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PREFACE.

Of the two following pieces all I know is that Dr. Rawley says he found them among Bacon's papers, and understanding that they were praised by men of great reputation (a laudatissimis viris collaudatas) printed them together with the last among the *Opuscula Posthuma* in 1658, and inserted English translations of them in the second edition of the Resuscitatio in 1661.

The character of Julius Cæsar is apparently finished. With that of Augustus Bacon does not seem to have proceeded beyond the opening paragraph; though Dr. Rawley has printed it as if it were complete; nor has any one, so far as I know, observed that it is only a fragment. In other respects they tell their own story, and do not appear to require any further explanation.

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IMAGO CIVILIS JULII CÆSARIS.

Julius Cæsar a principio fortuna exercita usus est, quod ei in bonum vertit; hoc enim illi fastum detraxit, nervos intendit. Animus ei inerat studio et affectu turbidus, judicio et intellectu admodum serenus: hocque indicat facilis illa sui explicatio, tum in rebus gerendis, tum in sermone. Nemo enim aut celerius decernebat aut magis perspicue loquebatur: nil impeditum, nil involutum quis notaret. Voluntate autem et appetitu is erat, qui nunquam partis acquiescebat, sed ad ulteriora semper tendebat: ita tamen ut non immaturo fastidio, sed legitimis spatiis, transitus actionum gubernaret: semper enim perfectissimas clausulas actionibus imponebat. Itaque ille, qui post tot victorias et tantam partam securitatem, reliquias belli civilis in Hispania non contempsit, sed præsens subegit, post extremum illud demum bellum civile confectum et omnia undique pacata, expeditionem in Parthos continuo moliebatur. Erat proculdubio summa animi magnitudine, sed ea, quæ magis amplitudinem propriam quam merita in commune spiraret. Prorsus enim omnia ad se referebat, atque ipse sibi erat fidissimum omnium actionum suarum centrum: quod maximam ei et perpetuam fere felicitatem peperit. Non enim patria, non religio, non officia, non necessitudines, non

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amicitiæ, destinata ejus remorabantur, vel in ordinem redigebant. Nec magnopere versus in æternitatem erat; ut qui nec statum rerum stabiliret, nec quicquam egregium, vel mole vel instituto, fundaret vel conderet; sed veluti ad se cuncta retulit. Sic etiam ad sua tempora cogitationum fines recepit. Nominis tantum celebritate frui voluit, quod etiam sua id nonnihil interesse putaret. Ac in propriis certe votis, magis potentiæ quam dignitati studebat; dignitatem enim et famam non propter se, sed ut instrumenta potentiæ, colebat. Itaque veluti naturali impetu, non morata aliqua disciplina ductus, rerum potiri volebat; iisque magis uti quam dignus videri: quod ei apud populum, cui nulla inerat dignitas, gratiosum erat; apud nobiles et proceres, qui et suam dignitatem retinere volebant, id obtinuit nomen, ut cupidus et audax videretur. Neque multum sane a vero aberrarunt, cum natura audacissimus esset, nec verecundiam unquam, nisi ex composito, indueret. Atque nihilo secius ita ista efficta erat audacia, ut eum nec temeritatis argueret, nec fastidio homines enecaret, nec naturam ejus suspectam faceret; sed ex morum simplicitate quadam et fiducia, ac nobilitate generis, ortum habuisse putaretur. Atque in cæteris quoque rebus omnibus id obtinuit, ut minime callidus aut veterator haberetur, sed apertus et verax. Cumque summus simulationis et dissimulationis artifex esset, totusque ex artibus compositus, ut nihil naturæ suæ reliquum esset, nisi quod ars probavisset; tamen nil artificii, nil affectationis appareret, sed natura et ingenio suo frui, eaque sequi existimaretur. Neque tamen minoribus et vilioribus artificiis et cautelis omnino obnoxius erat, quibus homines rerum imperiti et qui non propriis viribus sed alienis facultatibus subnixi, ad auc-

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toritatem suam tuendam uti necesse habent; utpote qui omnium actionum humanarum peritissimus esset, atque cuncta paulo majora ipse per se, non per alios, transigeret. Invidiam autem extinguere optime norat; idque vel dignitatis jactura consequi, non alienum a rationibus suis duxit; veramque potentiam amplexus, omnem illam inanem speciem et tumidum apparatum potentiæ æquo animo per totum fere vitæ cursum declinavit et transmisit: donec tandem, sive satiatus potentia sive adulationibus corruptus, etiam insignia potentiæ, nomen regium et diadema, concupivit; quod in pernicem ejus vertit. Regnare autem jam usque a juventute meditatus est; idque ei exemplum Syllæ, affinitas Marii, æmulatio Pompeii, corruptelæ et perturbatio temporum, facile suggerebant. Viam autem sibi ad regnum miro ordine sternebat: primum per potentiam popularem et seditiosam, deinde per potentiam militarem et imperatoriam. Nam initio sibi erant frangendæ senatus opes et auctoritas, qua salva nemini ad immodica et extraordinaria imperia aditus erat. Tum demum evertenda erat Crassi et Pompeii potentia, quod nisi armis fieri non poterat. Itaque (ut faber fortunæ suæ peritissimus) primam structuram per largitiones, per judiciorum corruptelas, per renovationem memoriæ C. Marii et partium ejus (cum plerique senatorum et nobilium e Syllana factione essent), per leges agrarias, per seditiosos tribunos quos immittebat, per Catilinæ et conjuratorum insanias quibus occulto favebat, per exilium Ciceronis, in cujus causa senatus auctoritas vertebatur, ac complures hujusmodi artes, attollebat et evehebat: sed maxime omnium per Crassi et Pompeii et inter se et secum conjunctionem absolvebat. Qua parte absoluta, ad alteram continuo partem accinge-

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batur, factus Proconsul Galliarum in quinquennium, rursusque in alterum quinquennium, atque armis, legionibus, et bellicosa et opulenta provincia potens, et Italiæ imminens. Neque enim eum latebat, postquam se armis et militari potentia firmasset, nec Crassum nec Pompeium sibi parem futurum; cum alter divitiis, alter famæ et nomini confideret; alter ætate, alter auctoritate senesceret; neuter veris et vigentibus præsidiis niteretur. Quæ omnia ei ex voto cessere; præsertim cum ipse singulos senatores et magistratus, et denique omnes qui aliquid poterant, ita privatis beneficiis devinctos et obstrictos haberet, ut securus esset de aliqua conspiratione vel consensu adversus suos conatus ineundis, antequam aperte rempublicam invaderet. Quod cum et semper destinasset, et aliquando tandem faceret, tamen personam suam non deponebat; sed ita se gerebat, ut æquitate postulatorum, et simulatione pacis, et successibus suis moderandis, invidiam in adversas partes torqueret; seque incolumitatis suæ gratia ad bellum necessarium coactum præ se ferret. Cujus simulationis vanitas manifesto deprehensa est, postquam confectis bellis civilibus regiam potestatem adeptus, omnibusque æmulis qui aliquam ei solicitudinem injicere possent e medio sublatis, tamen de reddenda republica ne semel quidem cogitavit, neque hoc saltem fingere aut prætexere dignaretur. Quod liquido declarat, cupiditatem et propositum regni adipiscendi ei et semper fuisse, et ad extremum patuisse. Neque enim occasionem aliquam arripuit, sed ipse occasiones excitavit et efformavit. In bellicis autem rebus maxime ejus virtus enituit, quæ tantum valuit, ut exercitum non tantum duceret, sed et effingeret. Neque enim major ei scientia affuit in

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rebus gerendis, quam in animis tractandis: neque id vulgari aliqua disciplina, quæ obsequium assuefaceret ad mandata, aut pudorem incuteret, aut severitatem usurparet; sed quæ miris modis ardorem et alacritatem adderet, et victoriam fere præriperet; quæque militem erga ipsum plus conciliaret quam liberæ reipublicæ conducebat. Cum autem in omni genere belli versatus esset, cumque artes civiles cum bellicis conjungeret, nil tam improvisum ei accidebat, ad quod remedium paratum non haberet; et nil tam adversum, ex quo non utilitatem aliquam derivaret. Personæ autem suæ debitas partes attribuit; ut qui sedens in prætorio in magnis præliis omnia per nuntios administraret. Ex quo duplicem fructum capiebat; ut et in discrimen rarius se committeret, atque ut cum res inclinare cœpissent, prælium per ipsius præsentiam, veluti nova auxilia, instauraretur. In omni autem apparatu et conatu bellico, non tantum ad exempla res gerebat, sed nova et accommodata summa ratione comminiscebatur. Amicitias satis constanter et singulari cum beneficentia et indulgentia coluit. Amicorum tamen hujusmodi delectum fecit, ut facile appareret, eum id quærere, ut instrumenti, non impedimenti, loco amicitia eorum esset. Cum autem et natura et instituto ferretur ad hoc, ut non eminens inter magnos, sed imperans inter obsequentes esset, amicos sibi adjunxit humiles sed industrios, quibus ipse omnia esset. Hinc illud, "Ita vivente Cæsare moriar;" et cætera id genus. Nobilium autem et æqualium suorum amicitias ex usu suo asciscebat: ex intimis autem neminem fere admittebat, nisi qui ex se omnia speraret. Quin et literis et doctrina mediocriter excultus fuit, sed ea quæ ad civilem usum aliquid conferret. Nam et in historia versatus

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erat, et verborum pondera et acumina mire callebat; et cum multa felicitati suæ tribueret, peritus astrorum videri voluit. Eloquentia autem ei nativa et pura erat. In voluptates propensus ac effusus erat, quod ei apud initia sua loco simulationis erat; nemo enim periculum ab hujusmodi ingenio metuebat. Voluptates autem suas ita moderabatur, ut nihil utilitati aut negotiorum summæ officerent, et animo potius vigorem quam languorem tribuerent. In mensa sobrius, circa libidines incuriosus, in ludis lætus et magnificus. Talis cum esset, id ad extremum ei exitio fuit, quod ad principia sua incremento fuerat; id est, studium popularitatis. Nil enim tam populare est quam ignoscere inimicis: qua sive virtute sive arte ille periit.

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IMAGO CIVILIS AUGUSTI CÆSARIS.

Augusto Cæsari, si cui mortalium, magnitudo animi inerat inturbida, serena, et ordinata: idque indicant res illæ omnium maximæ, quas ab ineunte adolescentia gessit. Nam qui ingenio commotiores sunt, ii fere adolescentias per varios errores transigunt, ac sub mediam ætatem demum se ostendunt: quibus autem natura est composita et plàcida, ii prima etiam ætate florere possunt. Atque cum animi dotes, sicut et bona corporis, sanitate quadam, pulchritudine, et viribus contineantur et absolvantur, fuit certe avunculo Julio viribus animi impar, pulchritudine et sanitate superior. Ille enim inquietus et incompositus (ut sunt fere ii qui comitiali morbo tentantur) se ad fines suos nihilominus summa ratione expediebat; sed ipsos fines minime ordinaverat, sed impetu infinito, et ultra mortale appetens, ferebatur ad ulteriora. Hic autem sobrius, et mortalitatis memor, etiam fines suos ordine admirabili descriptos et libratos habuisse visus est. Primum enim, rerum potiri volebat; deinde id assequi, ut dignus eo fastigio existimaretur; dein etiam, frui summa fortuna humanum esse ducebat; ad extremum, addere se rebus, et imaginem et virtutem sui principatus seculis post se futuris imprimere et inferre meditabatur. Itaque prima ætate Potentiæ, media Dignitati, vergente Voluptatibus, senectute Memoriæ et Posteritati serviebat.

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CHARACTER OF JULIUS CÆSAR.

JULIUS CÆSAR had from the beginning a fortune full of exercise: which turned to his advantage: for it took away his pride and braced his sinews. A mind he had, in desires and affections turbulent, but in judgment and intellect very serene; as appears by the ease with which he delivered himself both in action and speech. For no man decided quicker, or spoke clearer: there was nothing embarrassed, nothing involved about him. But in will and appetite he was one who never rested in what he had got, but ever pressed forward to things beyond. And yet he was not hurried from one action to another by a humour of weariness, but made the transitions at the just periods: for he always brought his actions to the most perfect closes. And therefore he that after winning so many victories and making himself so secure did not despise the relics of civil war in Spain, but went in person to put an end to them; as soon as ever that last civil war was concluded and peace established everywhere, immediately set about an expedition against the Parthians. Greatness of mind he undoubtedly had in a very high degree; yet such as aspired more after personal aggrandisement than merit towards the public. For he referred everything to himself, and was

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himself the true and perfect centre of all his own actions: which was the cause of his singular and almost perpetual felicity. For he allowed neither country, nor religion, nor services, nor kindred, nor friendships, to be any hindrance or bridle to his purposes. Neither was he much bent upon perpetuity; as one who neither established the state of affairs, nor founded or erected anything remarkable either in the way of building or institution; but as it were referred all things to himself. So also he confined his thoughts within the circle of his own times. Only his name he wished to make famous; because he thought he had himself some interest in that. And assuredly in his private wishes he cared more for power than reputation. For he sought reputation and fame not for themselves, but as instruments of power. By natural impulse therefore, not by any moral guiding, he aspired to the supreme authority; and aspired rather to possess it than to be thought worthy of it: a thing which gave him favour with the people, who had no dignity of their own; but with the nobles and great persons, who wished also to preserve their own dignity, procured him the reputation of covetousness and boldness. Wherein assuredly they were not far from the truth: for he was by nature extremely bold, and never showed any bashfulness except when he assumed it on purpose. And yet for all that, this boldness was so fashioned as neither to impeach him of rashness, nor to make him intolerable, nor to bring his nature into suspicion: but was thought to proceed from a simplicity of manners, and confidence, and the nobility of his birth. And the same held good in all things else, that he was taken to be by no means cunning or wily, but frank and

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veracious. And though he was in fact a consummate master of simulation and dissimulation, and made up entirely of arts, insomuch that nothing was left to his nature except what art had approved, nevertheless there appeared in him nothing of artifice, nothing of dissimulation; and it was thought that his nature and disposition had full play and that he did but follow the bent of them. Yet for the smaller and meaner artifices and precautions, to which men unskilled in affairs and depending not on their own strength but on help from without, are driven for the support of their authority, he was not at all beholden to these; as being a man exceedingly expert in all human actions, and who managed all business of any consequence for himself, not by others. How to extinguish envy he knew excellently well; and thought it an object worth purchasing even by the sacrifice of dignity; and being in quest of real power, he was content during the whole course of his life to decline and put by all the empty show and pomp and circumstance of it: until at last, whether satiated with power or corrupted by flattery, he aspired likewise to the external emblems thereof, the name of king and the crown; which turned to his destruction. The sovereignty was the mark he aimed at even from his youth; the example of Sylla, the relationship of Marius, the emulation of Pompey, the corruptions and perturbation of the times, readily suggesting it to him. But he made himself a way to the sovereignty in a strange order; first by means of a power popular and seditious, afterwards by a power military and imperatorial. For at first he had to break the force and authority of the senate; during the maintenance of which no man could find a

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passage to immoderate and extraordinary commands. And after that, he had to overthrow the power of Crassus and Pompey, which could not be done except by arms. And therefore (as a most skilful carpenter of his own fortune) he raised the first structure by means of largesses, corruption of the courts of justice, revival of the memory of Caius Marius and his party (most of the senators and nobles being of the Syllan faction), agrarian laws, putting in of seditious tribunes, secret favouring of the madnesses of Catiline and his conspirators, banishment of Cicero, upon whose cause the authority of the senate turned, and a number of the like arts; but most of all by the conjunction of Crassus and Pompey first with one another and then with himself, which completed it. Which part of his design being accomplished, he immediately addressed himself to the other; obtaining the proconsulship of Gaul for five years, and then again for another five years; and so making himself powerful in arms, legions, and a warlike and opulent province, in a position to threaten Italy. For he saw well that as soon as he had strengthened himself with arms and military power, neither Crassus nor Pompey would be a match for him; seeing that the one trusted to his wealth and the other to his fame and reputation; the one waxed old in years, the other in authority; neither had sound and vigorous safeguards to rest upon. All which things fell out to him according to his desire: the rather because he had the several senators and magistrates, and indeed all persons who had any power, so obliged and bound to himself by private benefits, that there was no danger of any combination being formed to oppose his designs, before he should openly invade

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the commonwealth. Which though he had always intended to do, and at last did, yet he did not put off his mask; but so carried himself that, what with the reasonableness of his demands, what with the pretence of a desire of peace, what with the moderate use of his successes, he turned the envy on the other party, and made it seem that he was driven for his own safety into a necessary war. The hollowness of which pretence was clearly proved, when the civil wars being ended, and he being in possession of the sovereign power, and all the rivals that could cause him any anxiety being removed out of the way, yet he never once thought of restoring the commonwealth, no, nor cared to make so much as a pretence of doing it. Which plainly shows that the desire and purpose of obtaining the sovereignty had always been in him, and at last came out. For he did not merely seize an occasion that offered itself; himself made and shaped the occasions. It was in the business of war that his ability was most conspicuous; and so great it was, that he could not only lead an army but make one. For he was not more skilful in conducting actions than in the management of men's minds: and that not by any ordinary kind of discipline, that inured them to obey commands, or awakened a sense of shame, or enforced by severity; but one that inspired a wonderful ardour and alacrity, and won the battle almost before it began: and endeared him to the soldiery more than was good for a free commonwealth. Versed as he was moreover in every kind of war, and uniting civil arts with military, no accident took him so unexpectedly but he had a remedy prepared for it; nothing fell out so cross, but he drew some advantage from it. For his own person

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he had a due respect: as one that would sit in his tent during great battles, and manage everything by messages. From which he derived a double advantage: first that he went seldomer into danger, and secondly that if ever the fortune of the day were going against him, his own presence was as good as a fresh reinforcement to restore the battle. And in his warlike arrangements and enterprises he did not conduct things merely according to precedent, but would invent with consummate judgment new devices framed to the occasion. In his friendships he was constant enough, and singularly kind and indulgent. And yet he made choice of such friends that it was easy to see that he meant their friendship to be an instrument and not an impediment. And since his aim both by nature and principle was not to be eminent among great men, but to command among followers, he chose for his friends men that were of mean condition, but industrious and active, to whom he might be all in all. Hence the saying "Let me die, so Cæsar live," and the like. With nobles and equals he made friendships according to his occasions; but he admitted no man to intimacy except such whose hopes rested entirely in himself. In letters and learning he was moderately well accomplished, but it was that kind of learning which was of use in the business of life. For he was well versed in history, and had wonderful knowledge of the weight and point of words; and because he attributed much to his felicity, he affected to be learned in the stars. Eloquence he had also, natural and pure. To pleasures he was naturally inclined, and indulged freely in them; which in his early times served the purpose of simulation; for no one feared any danger from such a

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disposition. But he so governed his pleasures, that they were no hindrance to his interest and main business, and his mind was rather invigorated than made languid by them. At the table he was sober, in his lusts not particular, in public entertainments gay and magnificent. Such being the man, the same thing was his destruction at last which in the beginning was his advancement, I mean the desire of popularity. For there is nothing so popular as the forgiveness of enemies: and this it was which, whether it were virtue or art, cost him his life.

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CHARACTER OF AUGUSTUS CÆSAR.

Augustus Cæsar was endued, if ever man was, with a greatness of mind, calm, serene, and well-ordered: witness the exceeding great actions which he conducted in his early youth. For men of impetuous and unsettled dispositions commonly pass their youth in various errors; and it is not till middle age that they show what they are. But those whose nature is composed and placid may flourish even in their first years. And whereas the gifts of the mind, like those of the body, are contained and completed in three things, — health, beauty, and strength, — he was certainly in strength of mind inferior to his uncle Julius, but in beauty and health of mind superior. For Julius being of a restless and unsettled disposition, though for the compassing of his ends he made his arrangements with consummate judgment, yet had not his ends themselves arranged in any good order; but was carried on and on with an impulse that knew no bounds, aiming at things beyond the reach of mortality. Whereas Augustus, as a man sober and mindful of his mortal condition, seems to have had his ends likewise laid out from the first in admirable order and truly weighed. For first he made it his aim to be at

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the head of affairs: then to become the position and be esteemed worthy of it; next he considered it fit for him, as a man, to enjoy that height of fortune: and lastly, he thought to apply himself to some real work, and so transmit to the next ages the impression of the image and the effects of the virtue of his government. In the first period of his life therefore he made Power his object; in the middle period, Dignity; in his declining years, Pleasures: and in his old age, Memory and Posterity.

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

INSERTED BY BACON IN A MANUSCRIPT COPY OF CAMDEN'S ANNALS OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

(Cott. Faust. F. viii. ix.)

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PREFACE.

THE three first books of Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, extending from the beginning of her reign to the end of the year 1589, were published by order of James I. in 1615. The rest he completed soon after, and lodged a copy of it in the hands of his friend Petrus Puteanus; — to be preserved, but not published till after his death. He died in November 1623; and the fourth book (printed, if I understand the story right, from Puteanus's copy) appeared in 1627. It appears however that a better copy was in existence; that after the three first books were published, and the fourth copied, Camden had revised and corrected the whole; that a fair copy of the three first (described as "the first part of Mr. Camden's Elizabetha enlarged for the next impression") passed through the representatives of Sir Robert Cotton into the hands of Dr. Thomas Smith; and a corrected copy of the fourth, through what channel we are not informed, into the hands of Dr. Rawlinson;[1] and that

[1] Both these copies are in the Bodleian Library. The first (Smith MS. No. 2.) is a printed copy of the original folio, with the alterations and additions inserted in Camden's own hand. The second (8vo. Rawlinson, 707.) has the following note on the blank leaf at the beginning: — "This book belongs to my honoured and learned friend Thos. Rawlinson, Esq. Tho. Hearne, Aug. 25th, 1716." It is a copy of the Elzevir edition, Lugd. Batav. MDCXXXIX, containing many alterations and additions inserted between the lines or leaves, in manuscript. They are very clearly written in a small, firm, regular hand; whose, I could not learn.

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both of these were ultimately entrusted to Thomas Hearne, and used in his edition of the entire work, published in 1717.

In Hearne's edition the differences between Dr. Rawlinson's MS. and the printed copies are pointed out in foot-notes, but no further particulars are given. A considerable number however of the additions and more material alterations are found in the blank pages of a copy of the fourth book of Camden's *Annales*, which is now in the Cottonian Library (Faustina F. viii. ix.); and are in the hand-writing of Francis Bacon. I suppose that Camden had lent the MS. to Bacon to read and criticise; that Bacon had returned it with these passages suggested for insertion; and that they had been inserted accordingly, either by Camden himself or by some one to whom the MS. was entrusted, in the copy which came into possession of Dr. Rawlinson.[1] At any rate the manner in which they are entered in the Cottonian MS. sufficiently proves that they are of Bacon's own composition, and therefore have a right to a place in this collection. And though many of them have but little independent value, I have thought it better to include them all; the rather because the insertion of two or three immaterial words is enough to show that Bacon had read the passage, and his inserting no more may be taken as a kind of evidence that he had no material correction to suggest. A note on the cover in Camden's hand states that he began to read the MS. over again on the 18th of May, 1620: but at what time Bacon read it I know no means of ascertaining.

[1] Any one who had access to the Cotton MS. might have made the alterations in his own copy.

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

IN

CAMDEN'S ANNALES.

I.

In the opening of the fourth book of his *Annales* (Hearne's edition, p. 593.) Camden describes an attempt made by some of the Scotch nobles, at the instigation of Spain, to seize the person of the King, under pretence of delivering him from the custody of Chancellor Maitland and the English faction. He tells us that the King received intelligence one day when he was hunting, that Bothwell was at hand on one side with troops of borderers, and Huntley approaching on the other with a strong army from the North: upon which, *nil perterrefactus*, *sed animo et consilio plane regio*, (no way dismayed, but with spirit and judgment truly king-like,) he proclaimed them traitors, mustered his faithful subjects, and so frustrated the enterprise; Bothwell taking at once to flight, and Huntley being presently reduced to submission.

The words *nil perterrefactus*, &c. (Faust. F. viii. fo. 2.) are in Bacon's hand.

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II.

In his account of the trial of the Earl of Arundel (p. 595.) Camden had stated that the Justices assessors (*justiciarii assessores*), being asked by the prisoner whether an indictment were lawful which contained errors in the description both of places and times, declared that those things were not to be regarded, so the fact were proved (*ista minime attendenda esse, modo factum probetur*). For these words Bacon substitutes (Faust. F. viii. fo. 4.) *ista regulariter non attendenda esse, nisi criminis ipsius naturam varient:* 'that the rule was, that such points should not be regarded unless the nature of the crime itself were affected by them.'

III.

In April 1589, an expedition against Spain was undertaken by Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake, with the Queen's permission, but not at the public charge. The Earl of Essex followed soon after, unknown to the Queen, and joined the fleet. In allusion to this circumstance Camden had said (p. 602.) that he committed himself to the sea without the Queen's knowledge, yea to the incurring of her displeasure; for he had no hope to obtain leave of the Queen to go, who was unwilling that any of the prime nobility should hazard themselves in this voyage; (*quæ neminem e primariâ nobilitate in hâc expeditione periclitari voluit.*)

Instead of this, Bacon suggests (Faust. F. viii. fo. 9.) *quæ*[1] *nec absentiam aut periculum ejus libenter ad-*

[1] The words *nec enim a Regina veniam abeundi impetrare speravit, quæ* are omitted from the text by Hearne; who prints *nec absentiam . . . vellet,*

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missura esset, et expeditionem ipsam potius a privatorum alacritate quam Principis designatione susceptam videri vellet: 'who would not only have been unwilling to let Essex himself be absent or in danger, but wished besides that the expedition itself should seem to have been undertaken rather by the eagerness of private persons than by appointment of the sovereign.'

IV.

A little further on (p. 604.), where Camden mentions the blame which was cast on Sir Francis Drake for not supporting the land-forces with his fleet, Bacon adds (Faust. F. viii. fo. 10.) *quique militiâ navali bonus, terrestri impar habebatur:* 'that Drake was accounted an able commander for naval warfare, but not equal to warfare by land.'

V.

The same year, after describing the confusions in France and the conspiracy against the King which ensued upon the murder of Henry Duke of Guise, the great head of the Catholic party, Camden proceeds to say (p. 608.) that hereupon the King was forced to betake himself to the Protestants whom he had persecuted; and the conspirators resorting to a detestable crime murdered him by the hands of James Clement, a monk. (*Adeo ut Rex necessario ad Protestantes quos exagitaverat confugeret, et isti ad detestabile scelus conversi illum per Jacobum Clementem monachum parricidio*

as an independent sentence. The correction is inserted in Rawlinson's copy between the lines, but without any mark to show where it is to come in: the writer not having attended to the line drawn by Bacon under the words for which he meant this sentence to be substituted; though the direction is quite distinct.

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tollerent.) Here Bacon merely inserts in place of *et isti* (Faust. F. viii. fo. 13.) the words *unde duplicatâ invidiâ conjurati:* 'whereby the conspirators, more enraged than ever,' &c.

Hearne suggests in a note that for *tollerent* we should read *sustulerunt.* Rightly, no doubt. The introduction of Bacon's words alters the construction, which the transcriber had overlooked. But he is wrong in retaining the words *et isti*, which are not erased in the corrected volume, but which Bacon has underlined in the manuscript, clearly meaning that they should be struck out and his own words substituted.

VI.

A few lines further on (p. 609.) Camden had said that the Duke de Mayenne was proclaimed *Lieutenant-General of the Crown of France.* Bacon corrects this (Faust. F. viii. fo. 14.) to *statûs et coronæ:* 'Lieutenant-General of the *State and* Crown of France.'

VII.

In 1591, Hacket, a religious madman, was executed for treason. Having spent his youth in riot and profaneness, and ruined himself by prodigality, Camden tells us (p. 630.) that he suddenly assumed a character of admirable sanctity, spent all his time in hearing sermons and learning the Scriptures, and pretended heavenly revelations and an extraordinary mission. Here Bacon inserts (Faust. F. viii. fo. 32.) the following curious passage: *Ante omnia vero, miro et peregrino quodam fervore preces fundebat, in faciem concidens, et veluti extasi correptus et cum Deo quasi expostulans. Attamen unum ex ejus asseclis, cæteris forte*

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perspicaciorem, abalienavit formulâ quâdam orationis quæ illi erat familiaris. Nam cum omnes soleant Dei præsentiam in invocando implorare, ille solus Deum rogare consueverat ut a cœtu precantium abesse et se subtrahere vellet; quod licet auditores ad excessum quendam humilitatis trahebant, tamen potuit quoque esse vox plane Satanica, a Dæmone malo qui eum obsidebat dictata. 'Above all, he poured forth prayers with a certain strange and outlandish fervour, falling upon his face, and rapt as it were in extasy, and like a man expostulating with God. Moreover there was one of his followers, who, being clearer sighted perhaps than the rest, forsook him in consequence of a form of speech which was familiar to him. For whereas all other men are wont in their invocations to implore God's presence, he alone used to ask of God that he would be pleased to absent and withdraw himself from the assembly of those who prayed: which the hearers imputed to excess of humility; and yet it may have been the voice of Satan himself, put into Hacket's mouth by the evil spirit that possessed him.'

VIII.

A little further on (p. 632.) where Camden says that this Hacket had persuaded himself that God had ordained him to be King of Europe, Bacon inserts (Faust. F. viii. fo. 33.) the words *homo ex vilissima fœce Anabaptistarum renatus:* 'being a man newborn from the vilest dregs of the Anabaptists.'

IX.

In the next page, Camden describes him as assuming to be Christ himself, and sending his disciples to pro-

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claim through the city that Jesus Christ was come with his fan in his hand to judge the world; and if any asked where he was, to bring them thither, and if they would not believe, let them kill him if they could. To which Bacon adds (Faust. F. viii. fo. 33.) *cum satis gnarus esset nequissimus impostor id neminem propter legis metum ausurum:* 'the wretched impostor knowing well enough that fear of the law would prevent any man from attempting such a thing.'

X.

In 1593, Queen Elizabeth had to clear herself of some slanders circulated against her in Germany, as having excited the Turk to make war upon Christendom. In allusion to these slanders Camden had observed (p. 660.) that she had had no dealings with the Turk, except for the purpose of enabling her subjects to trade securely in that empire: on which account (he adds) she had an agent at Constantinople to negotiate the merchants' affairs at their own expense, *as had also the French King, the Polonian, the states of Venice and others.* This statement Bacon corrects (Faust. F. viii. fo. 55.), by saying that she had *only* an agent at Constantinople, whereas the French, the Polonian, &c. had *ambassadors* there: 'quo nomine Agentem *tantum*, qui negotia mercatorum ipsorum impensis ageret, Constantinopoli habuit, *cum* Gallus, Polonus, Respub. Veneta, et alii *Legatos ibidem haberent.*' The words in italics are inserted by Bacon.

XI.

In the beginning of 1594, Roderigo Lopez, a Portuguese, employed by Queen Elizabeth as physician of

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her household, was tried for a conspiracy (at the instigation of Spain) to poison her. He confessed that he had been dealt with by the Spaniard for that purpose, that he had received from an inward counsellor of the King a rich jewel, had supplied him with intelligence from time to time, and had promised for 50,000 ducats to poison her; but maintained that he never intended to perform the promise and only meant to cozen the Spaniard of his money. Camden had represented him (p. 676.) as stating in his defence that he had *given* (*donâsse*) the jewel to the Queen. For *donâsse* Bacon substitutes (Faust. F. viii. fo. 68.) *monstrâsse:* 'he had *shewed* it to her;' and adds the following particulars.

Ad fidem faciendam etiam eâ usus est circumstantiâ, quod Reginæ se in syrupo venenum exhibiturum dixisset, cum satis (ut aiebat) notum esset Reginam in cura corporis syrupis nunquam usam fuisse, sed ab iis magnopere abhorrere. Verum cum plane liqueret idque ex confessione propriâ, eum, cum monile illud Reginæ monstrâsset, nullam prorsus veneni mentionem fecisse, sed tantum per œnigma Reginam interrogâsse annon fraudem fraude tanquam laqueum laqueo intercipere liceret, (quod tamen ipsum Regina ut prudens et cauta fœmina rejecisset sibique minime placere respondisset), cumque insuper testatum esset eum serio de fugâ faciendâ seque ad cognatum quendam et gentilem suum Salomonem Judæum, qui Constantinopoli habitabat, et prædives erat, conferre deliberâsse, idque in animo habuisse, impostoris ei larva detracta est et proditoris merito adhæsit.

'In confirmation of this, he urged this point — that he had told his employers that he would exhibit the poison to the Queen in a syrup; whereas it was well

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known (he said) that she never used syrups in her diet, but had an especial dislike to them. But when it clearly appeared that in shewing that jewel to the Queen he had made no mention whatever of poison, but had merely asked her in a dark manner whether it were lawful to meet deceit with deceit as snare with snare (by which however the Queen, as a wise and cautious woman, was not caught, but replied that she by no means approved of it), and when moreover it was given in evidence that he had seriously thought of taking flight and betake himself to a kinsman of his own race, one Solomon a Jew, who lived at Constantinople and was very rich, and that he had had a purpose so to do, his impostor's mask fell off, leaving the traitor's behind, as was fit.'

XII.

Upon the death of Ferdinand Stanley, Earl of Derby, in 1594, there arose a suit between his daughters and his brother William who succeeded to the earldom, for the dominion of the Isle of Man. In the discussion of the title a flaw was detected by the Crown Lawyers which enabled them to put in a claim on behalf of the Queen. But the Queen (says Camden, p. 687.) waived that right, and an agreement was made between the uncle and his nieces. Here Bacon inserts (Faust. F. viii. fo. 76.) the words *ut appareret illud potius ad competitores in ordinem redigendos, quam ad rigorem aliquem in medium adductum fuisse:* 'to shew that the claim was put in with a view of bringing the competitors to reason rather than of any rigour.'

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XIII.

In the autumn of 1599, England was alarmed with rumours of a Spanish fleet approaching, and an army was hastily levied as in defence of the kingdom. But there was no such thing. It came to light some year and a half after, that about that time the Earl of Essex, then commanding a great army in Ireland and in high discontent with the Queen, was seriously thinking of crossing over to Wales with 2000 men, and marching up to London with such additional forces as would probably have joined him by the way, and so overpowering his enemies. Camden seems to have suspected that the rumour of the Spanish fleet had been got up by the Government in order to provide themselves against this danger; but leaves it doubtful. "Whether the Queen had any secret intimation of this (he says) I know not. Certain it is that at that very time, upon uncertain rumours eagerly credited of a Spanish fleet prepared, 6000 of the best-trained infantry were raised at London, of which 3000 were to guard the Queen's person and the rest to be ready for all occasions; while from the countries round about a more numerous and carefully selected army was sent for: of which Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, Admiral of England, was made commander-in-chief, with full authority as well against foreign enemies as domestic rebels. But this army was within a few days discharged."

Bacon seems to have had less doubt as to the secret history of this rumour and levy—may indeed have had positive knowledge of the fact—and proposes (Faust. F. ix. fo. 33.) to substitute the following passage.

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Atque hoc Reginæ occulto aliquo indicio innotuisse, probabile est. Etenim eodem tempore increbuerunt rumores et per totum regnum pervagati sunt (quales spargi solent cum Principe volente volitant), adesse classem Hispanam potentem et optime instructam, ad oras occidentales regni conspectam esse, neque quam partem peterent certum esse. Itaque delectus acriter ubique habiti, provinciæ maritimæ armari et in procinctu esse jussæ, nuntii assidue ad aulam missi, quinetiam exercitus regius sub duce Comite Notingamiæ Admirallo Angliæ conscriptus. Evulgata etiam fabella quæ vel prudentiores capere et fallere posset. Regem Hispanum, expeditionis in Lusitaniam cui idem Essexius adfuerat non oblitum, cum certior factus esset tantum exercitum ad motus Hybernicos compescendos apparari sub duce tam eminenti et florenti, in suspicionem venisse hæc prætextu rerum Hybernicarum ad Hispaniæ partem aliquam invadendam designata esse, atque idcirco in defensionem regnorum suorum classem numerosam atque etiam copias terrestres parâsse. Postquam autem comperisset exercitum revera in Hiberniam transmissum esse, atque illis rebus implicitum; submonitum a consilio suo, ut cum tantam classem et copias magnis impensis et rerum motu jam collegisset et paratas haberet, ne eas inutiliter dimitteret, sed in Angliam impressionem faceret, eo magis quod flos militiæ Anglicanæ cum Essexio transportatus esset, et Regina nihil tale eo tempore expectaret. Hæc omnia eo fiebant, ut Essexius, certior factus regnum in armis esse, ab aliquo conatu exercitum Hybernicum in Angliam transportandi injecto metu desisteret. Attamen hæc Reginæ consilia etiam vulgo in suspicionem venerant et in pejorem partem accipiebantur, ut etiam dicteriis non abstinerent, cum dicerent anno octogesimo octavo ab Hispania

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appulisse classem illam invincibilem, at hoc anno alteram classem invisibilem,[1] *atque mussarent, si hujusmodi ludi florales a consilio Angliæ ineunte Maio celebrati fuissent, magis congruum existimari potuisse; verum ut plebs a messe sua avocaretur (erat enim adultus Autumnus) nimis serias ineptias esse.*

'And it is probable that the Queen had some secret intimation of this design. For just at that time there grew up rumours (such as are commonly spread when the sovereign is willing they should circulate) and went abroad all over the land, that a mighty and well appointed Spanish fleet was at hand, that it had been seen on the western coast, and was doubtful for what part it was designed. Thereupon musters were diligently held on all sides, the coast counties were ordered to arm themselves and be in readiness, couriers were sent continually to the court, nay a royal army, under command of the Earl of Nottingham, Admiral of England, was levied. Moreover a tale was given out by which even the wiser sort might well be taken in: viz. that the King of Spain, who had not forgotten the voyage to Portugal in which the same Essex had been engaged, when he was informed that so great an army had been set forth to suppress the Irish rebellion, under so eminent and prosperous a commander, fell into a suspicion that it was designed, under pretext of Irish matters, to invade some part of Spain: and therefore got together a numerous fleet and also land forces for the defence of his own dominions: but that when he found that the army was in truth sent over into Ireland

[1] The words *at hoc—invisibilem* are omitted in Hearne's edition, p. 795., having been omitted by the transcriber of the corrections in Rawlinson's copy.

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and occupied with the work there, he was advised by his council, seeing that he had gathered together such a fleet and force with great charge and trouble and had them ready, not to discharge them without doing some service; but to strike a blow at England; the rather because the flower of the English army had been sent over with Essex, and the Queen expected nothing of the kind at that time. Now all this was done to the end that Essex, hearing that the kingdom was in arms, might be deterred from any attempt to bring the Irish army over into England. And yet these devices of the Queen were even by the common people suspected and taken in bad part; insomuch that they forbore not from scoffs, saying that in the year '88 Spain had sent an *Invincible Armada* against us and now she had sent an *Invisible Armada;* and muttering that if the council had celebrated this kind of May-game in the beginning of May, it might have been thought more suitable, but to call the people away from the harvest for it (for it was now full autumn) was too serious a jest.'

The substance of this story is given by Fuller in his Church History (ix. 41.) on the authority of Camden's MS. Life of Queen Elizabeth, which it seems he had seen. It is the more worthy of notice because any one collecting the history of the time from the documents now remaining in the State Paper Office might easily conclude that the danger, or at least the alarm, was a real one. For though the occasion was pretended the preparations were in earnest.

Fuller makes a remark upon the last sentence, which is strange for a man of his judgment. "My author

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addeth (he says) that people affirmed that such May-games had been fitter in the spring (when sports were used amongst the Romans to Flora) and not in the autumn when people were seriously employed to fetch in the fruits of the earth. But by his leave, *these expressions flow from critics, and fly far above the capacities of countrymen.*" Here Fuller seems to have been deceived by his own learning, and to have forgotten that the *May-game* was an incident of spring in England as well as at Rome. The incongruity of May-games (*ludi florales* means no more) in harvest time, must have been intelligible enough to *any* Englishman.

XIV.

The only remaining additions or corrections which I find in Bacon's hand occur in the trial of the Earl of Essex for treason in February 1600–1. They are few and slight, but sufficient to shew that he had read that part of the history with care. As it stands in Hearne's edition, in which these corrections are introduced, it may be regarded as having in a manner received his sanction.

1.

Camden had represented Bacon himself (p. 853.) as saying at the trial (in answer to Essex's assertion that the violence of Cobham, Cecil, and Raleigh had driven him to take up arms in necessary self-defence) that Cobham, Cecil, and Raleigh were such sincere honest men, and had such large estates (*adeo sincere probos esse, et ab opibus instructos*), that they would never overthrow their estates and hopes by committing such

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a crime. For the words *adeo sincere probos, &c.* Bacon substitutes (Faust. F. ix. fo. 82.) *tales esse et animo et fortunis:* 'were of such a condition both in mind and in fortunes, that they would never' &c. Which agrees with the summary of the argument as given in the Declaration of Treasons. "Then it was shewed how improbable it was, considering that my Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh were men *whose estates were better settled and established* than to overthrow their fortunes by such a crime."

2.

In the next sentence Camden had represented him as observing that the fictions put forward by Essex of a plot against his life, fell to the ground by reason of their inconsistency and variety — inasmuch as Essex, not keeping to one story, cried out at one time that he was to have been murdered in his bed, at another in a boat, at another by the Jesuits; and likewise by the vanity of them (*necnon e vanitate*), since he exclaimed that the kingdom of England was to have been sold to the Spaniard. For *necnon e vanitate, cum exclamaret &c.* Bacon substitutes *Quinetiam subinde exclamaret &c.* (nay and he cried out presently after &c.) His argument, as represented both in the contemporary reports of the trial and in the Declaration, was not that the story about the kingdom being to be sold to the Spaniard was so vain a fiction as to shake the credit of the whole plea (the vanity of it was proved by other evidence), but that it was irrelevant to the point in question, which was the taking up arms in self-defence against private enemies.

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3.

Camden had represented him as adding, that it was a familiar thing to *traitors* (*proditoribus*) to strike at princes not directly but through the sides of their ministers. For *proditoribus* Bacon substitutes *defectionem et rebellionem tentantibus:* 'attempters of revolt and rebellion.'

4.

In the next sentence, Camden had represented him as taxing *Essex* with deep dissimulation, *as if he had put on the mask of piety;* and likening him to Pisistratus of Athens, who had gashed his body, &c. (*Essexium profundæ dissimulationis arguit, quasi pietatis larvam induerat: et Pisistrato Atheniensi assimilat, qui corpus &c.*) For this Bacon substitutes *Essexii factum profundæ dissimulationis arguit, quale fuit illud Pisistrati Atheniensis, qui corpus &c.* 'He taxes *the action* of Essex with deep dissimulation; comparing it to that of Pisistratus,' &c. There is nothing about the "mask of piety" either in the report or in the Declaration. Such an imputation would indeed have been quite from the purpose; for Pisistratus's object was not to gain a reputation for piety, but to make people think that he was in danger of his life. The report of the trial says, "I cannot resemble *your proceedings* more rightly than to one Pisistratus," &c. And in the Declaration, the substance of the argument is thus given, "It was said . . . . that *this action* of his resembled *the action* of Pisistratus of Athens, that proceeded so far in this kind of fiction and dissimulation, as he lanced his own body, &c."

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5.

At a later stage of the trial, Essex argued that if he had meant anything else than his own defence against private persons, he would not have gone forth with so small a force and so slightly armed. To which (Camden had added, p. 856.) Bacon replied, "This was cunningly done of you, who placed all your hope in the citizens' arms, expecting them to arm both yourself and your party and to take arms in your behalf; imitating herein the Duke of Guise, &c. (*vafre hoc a te factum, qui in civium armis spem totam defixisti, ut te tuosque armarent et pro te arma caperent; imitatus in hoc Guisium, qui Lutetiam &c.*) For this Bacon substitutes (in accordance, as before, with the contemporary reports and with the Declaration) "Cui Baconus: *at in hoc imitatus es recens exemplum Guisii*, qui Lutetiam non ita pridem cum pauculis ingressus, cives *nihilominus* ad arma ita concitavit ut Regem urbe exturbaret." 'But in this you imitated the recent example of the Duke of Guise, who, no long time since, though he entered Paris with a small company, yet he roused the citizens to take up arms, in such sort that the King was obliged to fly the city.' The words in italic are inserted in Bacon's hand.

In Hearne's edition *nihilominus* is inserted after *Lutetiam;* which is wrong. When I examined the volume in the Bodleian Library into which these corrections have been transcribed, I neglected to observe whether the same mistake occurs there. But as that volume was printed after Camden's death, and the corrections may all have been made from the Cotton MS., we are so far without evidence that they had received

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Camden's own sanction. That they were derived from a fair copy in which they had been incorporated under his superintendence, seems to me improbable, considering the nature of the errors into which the transcriber has fallen (see above, pp. 50, 52, 59.); all of which materially injure the sense and construction.

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ESSAYS OR COUNSELS

CIVIL AND MORAL.

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PREFACE.

Among the innumerable editions of Bacon's Essays that have been published, there are only four which, as authorities for the text, have any original or independent value; namely those published by Bacon himself in 1597, in 1612, and in 1625; and the Latin version published by Dr. Rawley in 1638. The rest are merely reprints of one or other of these.

The edition of 1597 contained ten essays, together with the *Meditationes Sacræ*, and the *Colours of Good and Evil.* That of 1612, a small volume in 8vo. contained essays only; but the number was increased to thirty-eight, of which twenty-nine were quite new, and all the rest more or less corrected and enlarged. That of 1625, a 4to. and one of the latest of Bacon's publications, contained fifty-eight essays, of which twenty were new, and most of the rest altered and enlarged.

The gradual growth of this volume, containing as it does the earliest and the latest fruits of Bacon's observation in that field in which its value has been most approved by universal and undiminished popularity, is a matter of considerable interest; and as the successive changes are not such as could be represented by a general description or conveniently specified in foot-notes, I have thought it best to reprint the two

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first editions entire, and add them in an appendix. Considering also that, although it has been thought expedient throughout the text of this edition of Bacon's works to modernize the spelling, it may nevertheless be convenient to the reader to have a specimen of the orthography of Bacon's time, I have taken this opportunity of giving one; and preserved the original spelling throughout both these reprints.

I have also been able to supply from a manuscript in the British Museum evidence of another stage in the growth of this volume, intermediate between the editions of 1597 and 1612; of which manuscript, in connexion with the reprint of the latter, a complete account will be given.

The text of the Essays is taken of course from the edition of 1625; a correct representation of which is nearly all that a modern reader requires. The only points in which the audience to which they now address themselves stands in a different position towards them from that to which they were originally addressed, appear to be, — first, knowledge of Latin, which is probably a less general accomplishment among the readers of books now than it was then; and secondly, familiarity with the ordinary language of that day, in which some expressions have worn out of use with time, and some have acquired new meanings. To meet these changes, I have in the first place translated the Latin quotations, in the same manner and upon the same principle which I have explained at length in my preface to the Advancement of Learning (Vol. VI. of this edition); and in the second place, I have added an explanatory note wherever I have observed any expression which a modern reader is likely

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to misunderstand or not to understand. But I have not attempted to develop allusions, or to canvass historical statements, or to point out inaccuracies of quotation, where the difference does not affect the argument, — still less to entertain the reader with discourses of my own; conceiving that the worth of writings of this kind depends in great part upon the rejection of superfluities, and that an annotator who is too diligent in producing all that he can find to say about his text runs a great risk of merely encumbering the reader with the very matter from which it was the author's labour to disembarrass him. I have even had my doubts whether in writings which remain as fresh as these, the very insertion of references to passages quoted be not an unwelcome interruption and an unwarrantable liberty. When a modern writer introduces, for ornament or illustration or impression, a line from Virgil or Milton, he never thinks of adding a reference to the book and verse; and I suppose that Mr. Singer would not look upon an asterisk and a footnote, with *Hor. Carm.* I. 12. 45., as any improvement to the elegant motto which occupies the blank page fronting the title of his very elegant edition of these Essays. Bacon's philosophical works stand in many respects in a different position. Their value is in great part historical and antiquarian. They no longer speak to us as to contemporaries. To understand their just import, we must be carried back to the time, and it is of importance to know what books were then in estimation and what authors were familiarly appealed to, and carried weight as vouchers. The Essays, on the contrary, have for us precisely the same sort of interest which they had for the generation to which they were

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immediately addressed; they "come home to men's business and bosoms" just in the same way; they appeal to the same kind of experience; the allusions and citations are still familiar, and produce the same kind of impression on the imagination. So that I do not see why the reason which induced Bacon to cite an ancient saying, a tradition of the poets, an observation of one of the fathers, or a sentence from some classical writer, without specifying the volume and page where he found it, should not still be held a reason for leaving them to produce the effect which he intended, unincumbered with a piece of information which I suppose he thought superfluous or inconvenient.

The Latin translation of the Essays, published by Dr. Rawley in 1638 among the *Opera Moralia et Civilia*, under the weightier[1] title of *Sermones Fideles sive Interiora Rerum*, has (as I said) an original and independent value. Whether any of them were actually translated by Bacon himself, or how far he superintended the work, it seems impossible to know. Mr. Singer indeed represents them, on the authority of the title,[2] as having been put into Latin by Bacon himself *præterquam in paucis:*" but the words which he quotes occur in the title not of the *Sermones Fideles*, but of the whole volume, which contains four other works; the *Sermones Fideles* forming less than a fourth of the whole: so that for any thing these words imply

[1] Deinde sequetur libellus ille quem vestra lingua *Saggi Morali* appellastis. Verum illi libro nomen gravius impono: scilicet ut inscribatur *Sermones Fideles, sive Interiora Rerum.* — *Bacon's Letter to Fulgentio.*

[2] "In the year 1638, Dr. Rawley, who had been Bacon's chaplain, published a folio volume, containing, amongst other works in Latin, a translation of the Essays, under the title of 'Sermones Fideles, ab ipso Honoratissimo Auctore, præterquam in paucis, Latinitate donati.'" — Pref. p. xvi.

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they may themselves have been among the things excepted.[1] As it is certain however that Bacon himself regarded the Latin version as that in which they were to live, we may be sure that he took care to have it properly done: only as it was not published till twelve years after his death, we cannot be sure that it was all finished before he died. Several hands are said to have been employed in the work, and in the absence of all specific information, it is not improbable that there are parts of it which he did not live to see completed. Taken with this caution however, the Latin translation must be accepted as a work of authority, and in one respect of superior authority to the original, because of later date. I have therefore treated it in the same way as the translation of the history of Henry the Seventh; see Vol. XI. p. 19.

I am not aware that any such value belongs to any of the translations into modern languages. An Italian translation of the Essays and the De Sapientia Veterum published in London in 1618, with a dedicatory letter from Tobie Matthew to Cosmo de' Medici, may be presumed to have been made with Bacon's sanction; both because Matthew was so intimate a friend, and because it includes one essay which had not then been published,[2] as well as a large extract from the letter to

[1] Francisci Baconi . . . . . operum moralium et civilium tomus.

Qui continet
- *Historiam Regni Henrici Septimi Regis Angliæ.*
- *Sermones Fideles, sive Interiora Rerum.*
- *Tractatum de Sapientia Veterum.*
- *Dialogum de Bello Sacro.*
- *Et Novam Atlantidem.*

Ab ipso Honoratissimo Auctore, præterquam in paucis, Latinitate donatus.

[2] Mr. Singer says two: but one of those he quotes,—the Essay "Of Honour and Reputation,"—will be found in the edition of 1597.

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Prince Henry which Bacon had intended to prefix to the edition of 1612, but was prevented by his death. But there is no reason to suppose that Bacon had anything more to do with it. It is true that Andrea Cioli, who by Cosmo's direction brought out a new and revised edition of this volume at Florence in 1619, seems at first sight to speak of the translation as if it were Bacon's own composition — (ma non hò già voluto alterare alcuna di quelle parole, che forse nella lingua nostra non appariscono interamente proprie del senso, à che sono state in detta Opera destinate, *per non torre all' Autore la gloria, che merita di havere così ben saputo esprimere i suoi Concetti* in Idioma altretanto diverso dal suo, quanto è lontana da questa nostra la sua Regione;) — but the supposition is hardly reconcilable with the words of Matthew's dedicatory letter (non può mancar la scusa à chi s' è ingegnato tradur li concetti di questo Autore, &c.); and in the absence of all other evidence is too improbable to be believed. Nor do Cioli's words necessarily imply more than that the translator was an Englishman. That the translation was not the work of an Italian, — and therefore not (according to Mr. Singer's conjecture) by Father Fulgentio, — they afford evidence which may be considered conclusive.

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THE

ESSAYES OR COUNSELS,

CIVILL AND MORALL,

OF

FRANCIS LO. VERULAM, VISCOUNT ST. ALBAN.

NEWLY ENLARGED.

LONDON:

Printed by JOHN HAVILAND, for HANNA BARRETT and RICHARD WHITAKER,
And are to be sold at the sign of the King's Head, in
Paul's Churchyard.

1625.

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THE EPISTLE DEDICATORY.

To the Right Honourable my very good Lo. the DUKE of BUCKINGHAM his Grace, Lo. High Admiral of England.

EXCELLENT LO.

SALOMON says, *A good name is as a precious ointment;* and I assure myself, such will your Grace's name be with posterity. For your fortune and merit both have been eminent. And you have planted things that are like to last. I do now publish my Essays; which, of all my other works have been most current; for that, as it seems, they come home to men's business and bosoms. I have enlarged them both in number and weight; so that they are indeed a new work. I thought it therefore agreeable to my affection and obligation to your Grace, to prefix your name before them, both in English and in Latin.[1] For I do conceive that the Latin volume of them (being in the universal language) may last as long as books last. My Instauration I dedicated to the King; my History of Henry the Seventh (which I have now also trans-

[1] *Tam in editione Anglicâ, quam in Latinâ.*

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lated into Latin), and my portions of Natural History, to the Prince; and these I dedicate to your Grace; being of the best fruits that by the good encrease which God gives to my pen and labours I could yield. God lead your Grace by the hand.

Your Grace's most obliged and

faithful seruant,

FR. ST. ALBAN.

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ESSAYS OR COUNSELS

CIVIL AND MORAL.

I. Of Truth.

WHAT is Truth? said jesting Pilate; and would not stay for an answer. Certainly there be that delight in giddiness,[1] and count it a bondage to fix a belief; affecting free-will in thinking, as well as in acting. And though the sects of philosophers of that kind be gone, yet there remain certain discoursing wits[2] which are of the same veins, though there be not so much blood in them as was in those of the ancients. But it is not only the difficulty and labour which men take in finding out of truth; nor again that when it is found it imposeth upon men's thoughts;[3] that doth bring lies in favour; but a natural though corrupt love of the lie itself. One of the later school of the Grecians examineth the matter, and is at a stand to think what should be in it, that men should love lies, where neither they make for pleasure, as with poets, nor for advantage, as with the merchant; but

[1] *Cogitationum vertigine.*

[2] *ingenia quædam ventosa et discursantia.*

[3] *nec quæ ex eâ inventâ cogitationibus imponitur captivitas.*

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for the lie's sake. But I cannot tell: this same truth is a naked and open day-light, that doth not shew the masks and mummeries and triumphs of the world, half so stately and daintily as candle-lights. Truth may perhaps come to the price of a pearl, that sheweth best by day; but it will not rise to the price of a diamond or carbuncle, that sheweth best in varied lights. A mixture of a lie doth ever add pleasure. Doth any man doubt, that if there were taken out of men's minds vain opinions, flattering hopes, false valuations, imaginations as one would, and the like, but it would leave the minds of a number of men poor shrunken things, full of melancholy and indisposition, and unpleasing to themselves? One of the Fathers, in great severity, called poesy *vinum dæmonum* [devil's-wine], because it filleth the imagination; and yet it is but with the shadow of a lie. But it is not the lie that passeth through the mind, but the lie that sinketh in and settleth in it, that doth the hurt; such as we spake of before. But howsoever these things are thus in men's depraved judgments and affections, yet truth, which only doth judge itself, teacheth that the inquiry of truth, which is the love-making or wooing of it, the knowledge of truth, which is the presence of it, and the belief of truth, which is the enjoying of it, is the sovereign good of human nature. The first creature of God, in the works of the days, was the light of the sense; the last was the light of reason; and his sabbath work ever since, is the illumination of his Spirit. First he breathed light upon the face of the matter or chaos; then he breathed light into the face of man; and still he breatheth and inspireth light into the face of his chosen. The poet that beautified the sect that

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was otherwise inferior to the rest,[1] saith yet excellently well: *It is a pleasure to stand upon the shore, and to see ships tossed upon the sea; a pleasure to stand in the window of a castle, and to see a battle and the adventures thereof below: but no pleasure is comparable to the standing upon the vantage ground of Truth*, (a hill not to be commanded, and where the air is always clear and serene,) *and to see the errors, and wanderings, and mists, and tempests, in the vale below;* so always that this prospect be with pity, and not with swelling or pride. Certainly, it is heaven upon earth, to have a man's mind move in charity, rest in providence, and turn upon the poles of truth.

To pass from theological and philosophical truth, to the truth[2] of civil business; it will be acknowledged even by those that practise it not, that clear and round dealing[3] is the honour of man's nature; and that mixture of falsehood is like allay in coin of gold and silver, which may make the metal work the better, but it embaseth it. For these winding and crooked courses are the goings of the serpent; which goeth basely upon the belly, and not upon the feet. There is no vice that doth so cover a man with shame as to be found false and perfidious. And therefore Montaigne saith prettily, when he inquired the reason, why the word of the lie should be such a disgrace and such an odious charge? Saith he, *If it be well weighed, to say that a man lieth, is as much to say, as that he is brave towards God and a coward towards men.*[4] For a lie faces God,

[1] Lucretius. See the beginning of the second book.

[2] *veritatem aut potius veracitatem.*

[3] *apertam et minime fucatam in negotiis gerendis rationem.*

[4] Essais, II. 18. Compare Plutarch, Lysand. c. 8: *ὁ γὰρ ὅρκῳ παρακρουόμενος, τὸν μὲν ἐχθρὸν ὁμολογεῖ δεδιέναι, τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ καταφρονεῖν.*

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and shrinks from man. Surely the wickedness of falsehood and breach of faith cannot possibly be so highly expressed, as in that it shall be the last peal to call the judgments of God upon the generations of men; it being foretold, that when Christ cometh, *he shall not find faith upon the earth.*

II. Of Death.

Men fear Death, as children fear to go in the dark; and as that natural fear in children is increased with tales, so is the other. Certainly, the contemplation of death, as the wages of sin and passage to another world, is holy and religious; but the fear of it, as a tribute due unto nature, is weak. Yet in religious meditations there is sometimes mixture of vanity and of superstition. You shall read in some of the friars' books of mortification, that a man should think with himself what the pain is if he have but his finger's end pressed or tortured, and thereby imagine what the pains of death are, when the whole body is corrupted and dissolved; when many times death passeth with less pain than the torture of a limb: for the most vital parts are not the quickest of sense. And by him that spake only as a philosopher and natural man, it was well said, *Pompa mortis magis terret, quam mors ipsa:*[1] [it is the accompaniments of death that are frightful rather than death itself.] Groans and convulsions, and a discoloured face, and friends weeping, and blacks, and ob-

[1] Seneca, Ep. 24. Tolle istam pompam sub qua lates et stultos territas: mors es, quem nuper servus meus, quem ancilla contempsit. See the rest of the passage, and my note on Rawley's Life of Bacon, Vol. I. p. 13. n. 1.

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sequies, and the like, shew death terrible. It is worthy the observing, that there is no passion in the mind of man so weak, but it mates and masters the fear of death; and therefore death is no such terrible enemy when a man hath so many attendants about him that can win the combat of him. Revenge triumphs over death; Love slights it; Honour aspireth to it; Grief flieth to it;[1] Fear pre-occupateth it; nay we read, after Otho the emperor had slain himself, Pity (which is the tenderest of affections) provoked many to die, out of mere compassion to their sovereign, and as the truest sort of followers. Nay Seneca adds niceness and satiety: *Cogita quamdiu eadem feceris; mori velle, non tantum fortis, aut miser, sed etiam fastidiosus potest.* A man would die, though he were neither valiant nor miserable, only upon a weariness to do the same thing so oft over and over. It is no less worthy to observe, how little alteration in good spirits the approaches of death make; for they appear to be the same men till the last instant. Augustus Cæsar died in a compliment; *Livia, conjugii nostri memor, vive et vale:* [farewell, Livia; and forget not the days of our marriage.] Tiberius in dissimulation; as Tacitus saith of him, *Jam Tiberium vires et corpus, non dissimulatio, deserebant:* [his powers of body were gone, but his power of dissimulation still remained.] Vespasian in a jest; sitting upon the stool, *Ut puto Deus fio:* [I think I am becoming a god.] Galba with a sentence; *Feri, si ex re sit populi Romani:* [strike, if it be for the good of Rome;] holding forth his neck. Septimius Severus in despatch;

[1] The translation adds, *metus ignominiæ eligit:* a sentence which is also found in the edition of 1612,—"Delivery from ignominy chooseth it;" omitted here probably by accident.

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Adeste si quid mihi restat agendum: [make haste, if there is anything more for me to do.] And the like. Certainly the Stoics bestowed too much cost upon death, and by their great preparations made it appear more fearful. Better saith he, *qui finem vitæ extremum inter munera ponat naturæ:* [who accounts the close of life as one of the benefits of nature.] It is as natural to die as to be born; and to a little infant, perhaps, the one is as painful as the other. He that dies in an earnest pursuit, is like one that is wounded in hot blood; who, for the time, scarce feels the hurt; and therefore a mind fixed and bent upon somewhat that is good doth avert the dolours of death. But above all, believe it, the sweetest canticle is, *Nunc dimittis;* when a man hath obtained worthy ends and expectations. Death hath this also; that it openeth the gate to good fame, and extinguisheth envy. *Extinctus amabitur idem:* [the same man that was envied while he lived, shall be loved when he is gone].

III. Of Unity in Religion.

Religion being the chief band of human society, it is a happy thing when itself is well contained within the true band of Unity. The quarrels and divisions about religion were evils unknown to the heathen. The reason was, because the religion of the heathen consisted rather in rites and ceremonies, than in any constant belief. For you may imagine what kind of faith theirs was, when the chief doctors and fathers of their church were the poets. But the true God hath this attribute, that he is a *jealous God;* and therefore

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his worship and religion will endure no mixture nor partner. We shall therefore speak a few words concerning the Unity of the Church; what are the Fruits thereof; what the Bounds; and what the Means.

The Fruits of Unity (next unto the well pleasing of God, which is all in all) are two; the one towards those that are without the church, the other towards those that are within. For the former; it is certain that heresies and schisms are of all others the greatest scandals; yea, more than corruption of manners. For as in the natural body a wound or solution of continuity is worse than a corrupt humour; so in the spiritual. So that nothing doth so much keep men out of the church, and drive men out of the church, as breach of unity. And therefore, whensoever it cometh to that pass, that one saith *Ecce in deserto*, another saith *Ecce in penetralibus;* that is, when some men seek Christ in the conventicles of heretics, and others in an outward face of a church, that voice had need continually to sound in men's ears, *Nolite exire*, — *Go not out.* The Doctor of the Gentiles (the propriety of whose vocation drew him to have a special care of those without) saith, *If an heathen come in, and hear you speak with several tongues, will he not say that you are mad?* And certainly it is little better, when atheists and profane persons do hear of so many discordant and contrary opinions in religion; it doth avert them from the church, and maketh them *to sit down in the chair of the scorners.* It is but a light thing to be vouched in so serious a matter, but yet it expresseth well the deformity. There is a master of scoffing, that in his catalogue of books of a feigned library sets down this title of a book, *The morris-dance of Heretics.* For in-

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deed every sect of them hath a diverse posture or cringe by themselves, which cannot but move derision in worldlings and depraved politics, who are apt to contemn holy things.

As for the fruit towards those that are within; it is peace; which containeth infinite blessings. It establisheth faith. It kindleth charity. The outward peace of the church distilleth into peace of conscience. And it turneth the labours of writing and reading of controversies into treatises[1] of mortification and devotion.

Concerning the Bounds of Unity; the true placing of them importeth exceedingly. There appear to be two extremes. For to certain zelants all speech of pacification is odious. *Is it peace, Jehu? What hast thou to do with peace? turn thee behind me.* Peace is not the matter, but following and party. Contrariwise, certain Laodiceans and lukewarm persons think they may accommodate points of religion by middle ways, and taking part of both, and witty reconcilements; as if they would make an arbitrement between God and man. Both these extremes are to be avoided; which will be done, if the league of Christians penned by our Saviour himself were in the two cross clauses thereof[2] soundly and plainly expounded: *He that is not with us is against us;* and again, *He that is not against us is with us;* that is, if the points fundamental and of substance in religion were truly discerned and distinguished from points not merely of faith, but of opinion, order, or good intention.[3] This is a thing may seem

[1] *treaties*, in the original.

[2] *in clausulis illis quæ primo intuitu inter se opponi videntur.*

[3] *quæ non sunt ex fide, sed ex opinione probabili et intentione sancta, propter ordinem et ecclesiæ politiam sancita.*

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to many a matter trivial, and done already. But if it were done less partially, it would be embraced more generally.

Of this I may give only this advice, according to my small model. Men ought to take heed of rending God's church by two kinds of controversies. The one is, when the matter of the point controverted is too small and light, not worth the heat and strife about it, kindled only by contradiction. For as it is noted by one of the fathers, *Christ's coat indeed had no seam, but the church's vesture was of divers colours;* whereupon he saith, *In veste varietas sit, scissura non sit,* [let there be variety in the garment, but let there be no division:] they be two things, Unity and Uniformity. The other is, when the matter of the point controverted is great, but it is driven to an over-great subtilty and obscurity; so that it becometh a thing rather ingenious than substantial. A man that is of judgment and understanding shall sometimes hear ignorant men differ, and know well within himself that those which so differ mean one thing, and yet they themselves would never agree. And if it come so to pass in that distance of judgment which is between man and man, shall we not[1] think that God above, that knows the heart, doth not[1] discern that frail men in some of their contradictions intend the same thing; and accepteth of both? The nature of such controversies is excellently expressed by St. Paul in the warning and precept that he giveth concerning the same, *Devita profanas vocum novitates, et oppositiones falsi nominis scientiæ:* [Avoid profane novelties of terms, and oppositions of science falsely so

[1] So in the original. One of the *nots* should obviously be struck out; the reader can choose which.

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called.] Men create oppositions which are not; and put them into new terms so fixed, as whereas the meaning ought to govern the term, the term in effect governeth the meaning. There be also two false peaces or unities: the one, when the peace is grounded but upon an implicit ignorance; for all colours will agree in the dark: the other, when it is pieced up upon a direct admission of contraries in fundamental points. For truth and falsehood, in such things, are like the iron and clay in the toes of Nabuchadnezzar's image; they may cleave, but they will not incorporate.

Concerning the Means of procuring Unity; men must beware, that in the procuring or muniting of religious unity they do not dissolve and deface the laws of charity and of human society. There be two swords amongst Christians, the spiritual and temporal; and both have their due office and place in the maintenance of religion. But we may not take up the third sword, which is Mahomet's sword, or like unto it; that is, to propagate religion by wars or by sanguinary persecutions to force consciences; except it be in cases of overt scandal, blasphemy, or intermixture of practice against the state; much less to nourish seditions; to authorize conspiracies and rebellions; to put the sword into the people's hands; and the like; tending to the subversion of all government,[1] which is the ordinance of God. For this is but to dash the first table against the second; and so to consider men as Christians, as we forget that they are men. Lucretius the poet, when he beheld the act of Agamemnon, that

[1] *quæ omnia manifestissime tendunt ad majestatem imperii minuendam et auctoritatem magistratuum labefactandam; cum tamen omnis legitima potestas sit a Deo ordinata.*

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could endure the sacrificing of his own daughter, exclaimed:

Tantum Relligio potuit suadere malorum:

[to such ill actions Religion could persuade a man.] What would he have said, if he had known of the massacre in France, or the powder treason of England? He would have been seven times more Epicure and atheist than he was. For as the temporal sword is to be drawn with great circumspection in cases of religion; so it is a thing monstrous to put it into the hands of the common people. Let that be left unto the Anabaptists, and other furies. It was great blasphemy when the devil said, *I will ascend and be like the Highest;* but it is greater blasphemy to personate God, and bring him in saying, *I will descend, and be like the prince of darkness:* and what is it better, to make the cause of religion to descend to the cruel and execrable actions of murthering princes, butchery of people, and subversion of states and governments? Surely this is to bring down the Holy Ghost, instead of the likeness of a dove, in the shape of a vulture or raven; and set out of the bark of a Christian church a flag of a bark of pirates and assassins. Therefore it is most necessary that the church by doctrine and decree, princes by their sword, and all learnings, both Christian and moral, as by their Mercury rod, do damn and send to hell for ever those facts and opinions tending to the support of the same; as hath been already in good part done. Surely in counsels concerning religion, that counsel of the apostle would be prefixed, *Ira hominis non implet justitiam Dei:* [The wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God.] And it was a notable observation of a wise father, and no less in-

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genuously confessed; *that those which held and persuaded pressure of consciences, were commonly interessed therein themselves for their own ends.*

IV. Of Revenge.

Revenge is a kind of wild justice; which the more man's nature runs to, the more ought law to weed it out. For as for the first wrong, it doth but offend the law; but the revenge of that wrong putteth the law out of office. Certainly, in taking revenge, a man is but even with his enemy; but in passing it over, he is superior; for it is a prince's part to pardon. And Salomon, I am sure, saith, *It is the glory of a man to pass by an offence.* That which is past is gone, and irrevocable; and wise men have enough to do with things present and to come; therefore they do but trifle with themselves, that labour in past matters. There is no man doth a wrong for the wrong's sake; but thereby to purchase himself profit, or pleasure, or honour, or the like. Therefore why should I be angry with a man for loving himself better than me? And if any man should do wrong merely out of ill-nature, why, yet it is but like the thorn or briar, which prick and scratch, because they can do no other. The most tolerable sort of revenge is for those wrongs which there is no law to remedy; but then let a man take heed the revenge be such as there is no law to punish; else a man's enemy is still before hand, and it is two for one.[1] Some, when they take revenge, are desirous the party should know whence it cometh. This the more gen-

[1] *Alias ipse sibi pœnam conduplicat, inimicus vero lucrum facit.*

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erous. For the delight seemeth to be not so much in doing the hurt as in making the party repent. But base and crafty cowards[1] are like the arrow that flieth in the dark. Cosmus, duke of Florence, had a desperate saying against perfidious or neglecting friends, as if those wrongs were unpardonable; *You shall read* (saith he) *that we are commanded to forgive our enemies; but you never read that we are commanded to forgive our friends.* But yet the spirit of Job was in a better tune: *Shall we* (saith he) *take good at God's hands, and not be content to take evil also?* And so of friends in a proportion. This is certain, that a man that studieth revenge keeps his own wounds green, which otherwise would heal and do well. Public revenges are for the most part fortunate; as that for the death of Cæsar; for the death of Pertinax; for the death of Henry the Third[2] of France; and many more. But in private revenges it is not so. Nay rather, vindictive persons live the life of witches; who, as they are mischievous, so end they infortunate.

V. Of Adversity.

It was a high speech of Seneca (after the manner of the Stoics), *that the good things which belong to prosperity are to be wished; but the good things that belong to adversity are to be admired. Bona rerum secundarum optabilia; adversarum mirabilia.* Certainly if miracles be the command over nature, they appear most in ad-

[1] *Vili ingenio præditi et malitiosi.*

[2] So the original. The Latin translation has *Henrici Quarti, magni illius Galliæ regis.* It is probable therefore that we should read here *fourth* instead of *third.* But the observation is true to a certain extent with regard to both.

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versity. It is yet a higher speech of his than the other (much too high for a heathen), *It is true greatness to have in one the frailty of a man, and the security of a God. Vere magnum habere fragilitatem hominis, securitatem Dei.* This would have done better in poesy, where transcendences are more allowed. And the poets indeed have been busy with it; for it is in effect the thing which is figured in that strange fiction of the ancient poets, which seemeth not to be without mystery; nay, and to have some approach to the state of a Christian; that *Hercules, when he went to unbind Prometheus*, (by whom human nature is represented), *sailed the length of the great ocean in an earthen pot or pitcher;* lively describing Christian resolution, that saileth in the frail bark of the flesh thorough the waves of the world. But to speak in a mean.[1] The virtue of Prosperity is temperance; the virtue of Adversity is fortitude; which in morals is the more heroical virtue. Prosperity is the blessing of the Old Testament; Adversity is the blessing of the New; which carrieth the greater benediction, and the clearer revelation of God's favour. Yet even in the Old Testament, if you listen to David's harp, you shall hear as many hearse-like airs as carols; and the pencil of the Holy Ghost hath laboured more in describing the afflictions of Job than the felicities of Salomon. Prosperity is not without many fears and distastes; and Adversity is not without comforts and hopes. We see in needle-works and embroideries, it is more pleasing to have a lively work upon a sad and solemn ground, than to have a dark and melancholy work upon a lightsome ground: judge therefore of the pleasure of the heart by the pleasure

[1] *Ut a granditate verborum ad mediocritatem descendamus.*

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of the eye. Certainly virtue is like precious odours, most fragrant when they are incensed or crushed: for Prosperity doth best discover vice, but Adversity doth best discover virtue.

VI. Of Simulation and Dissimulation.

Dissimulation is but a faint kind of policy or wisdom;[1] for it asketh a strong wit and a strong heart to know when to tell truth, and to do it. Therefore it is the weaker sort of politics that are the great dissemblers.

Tacitus saith,[2] *Livia sorted well with the arts of her husband and dissimulation of her son;* attributing arts or policy to Augustus, and dissimulation to Tiberius. And again, when Mucianus encourageth Vespasian to take arms against Vitellius, he saith,[3] *We rise not against the piercing judgment of Augustus, nor the extreme caution or closeness of Tiberius.* These properties, of arts or policy and dissimulation or closeness, are indeed habits and faculties several, and to be distinguished. For if a man have that penetration of judgment as he can discern what things are to be laid open, and what to be secreted, and what to be shewed at half lights, and to whom and when, (which indeed are arts of state and arts of life, as Tacitus well calleth them,) to him a habit of dissimulation is a hinderance and a poorness. But if a man cannot obtain to that judg-

[1] *Artium civilium compendium quoddam et pars infirmior.*

[2] *Quod discrimen bene apud Tacitum Cæsarem Augustum inter et Tiberium adnotatum est. Etenim de Liviâ sic ait.*

[3] *Idem alibi hisce verbis Mucianum inducit Vespasianum ad arma contra Vitellium sumenda hortantem.*

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ment, then it is left to him generally to be close, and a dissembler. For where a man cannot choose or vary in particulars, there it is good to take the safest and wariest way in general; like the going softly, by one that cannot well see. Certainly the ablest men that ever were have had all an openness and frankness of dealing; and a name of certainty and veracity; but then they were like horses well managed; for they could tell passing well when to stop or turn; and at such times when they thought the case indeed required dissimulation, if then they used it, it came to pass that the former opinion spread abroad of their good faith and clearness of dealing made them almost invisible.[1]

There be three degrees of this hiding and veiling of a man's self. The first, Closeness, Reservation, and Secrecy; when a man leaveth himself without observation, or without hold to be taken, what he is.[2] The second, Dissimulation, in the negative; when a man lets fall signs and arguments, that he is not that he is. And the third, Simulation, in the affirmative; when a man industriously and expressly feigns and pretends to be that he is not.

For the first of these, Secrecy; it is indeed the virtue of a confessor. And assuredly the secret man heareth many confessions. For who will open himself to a blab or babbler? But if a man be thought secret, it inviteth discovery;[3] as the more close air sucketh in the more open; and as in confession the revealing is

[1] *Quod si necessitas quædam ingruat dissimulationem profundam postulans, tunc quidem opinio et fama de bona fide et veracitate eorum præconcepta eos reddit prorsus invisibiles.*

[2] *Primus est Taciturnitas, cum quis sensus animi sui premit, adeoque relinquit in æquilibrio, ut in quam partem propendeat nemo facile conjecerit.*

[3] *facile aliorum animos reserabit.*

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not for worldly use, but for the ease of a man's heart,[1] so secret men come to the knowledge of many things in that kind; while men rather discharge their minds than impart their minds. In few words, mysteries are due to secrecy.[2] Besides (to say truth) nakedness is uncomely, as well in mind as body; and it addeth no small reverence to men's manners and actions, if they be not altogether open. As for talkers and futile persons, they are commonly vain and credulous withal. For he that talketh what he knoweth, will also talk what he knoweth not. Therefore set it down, *that an habit of secrecy is both politic and moral.* And in this part it is good that a man's face give his tongue leave to speak. For the discovery of a man's self by the tracts of his countenance is a great weakness and betraying; by how much it is many times more marked and believed than a man's words.

For the second, which is Dissimulation; it followeth many times upon secrecy by a necessity; so that he that will be secret must be a dissembler in some degree. For men are too cunning to suffer a man to keep an indifferent carriage between both, and to be secret, without swaying the balance on either side.[3] They will so beset a man with questions, and draw him on, and pick it out of him, that, without an absurd silence, he must shew an inclination one way; or if he do not, they will gather as much by his silence as by his speech. As for equivocations, or oraculous speeches, they cannot hold out long. So that no man can be secret, except he give himself a little scope of dissimu-

[1] *ad conscientiam subletandam.*

[2] *silentibus.*

[3] *in æquilibrio se continere, absque aliqua in alteram partem inclinationis suæ declaratione.*

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lation; which is, as it were, but the skirts or train of secrecy.

But for the third degree, which is Simulation and false profession; that I hold more culpable, and less politic; except it be in great and rare matters. And therefore a general custom of simulation (which is this last degree) is a vice, rising either of a natural falseness or fearfulness, or of a mind that hath some main faults, which because a man must needs disguise, it maketh him practise simulation in other things, lest his hand should be out of use.

The great[1] advantages of simulation and dissimulation are three. First, to lay asleep opposition, and to surprise. For where a man's intentions are published, it is an alarum to call up all that are against them. The second is, to reserve to a man's self a fair retreat. For if a man engage himself by a manifest declaration, he must go through or take a fall.[2] The third is, the better to discover the mind of another. For to him that opens himself men will hardly shew themselves adverse; but will (fair)[3] let him go on, and turn their freedom of speech to freedom of thought. And therefore it is a good shrewd proverb of the Spaniard, *Tell a lie and find a troth.* As if there were no way of discovery but by simulation.[4]

[1] So in original, and in ed. 1639. *Great* is omitted in the translation, and in some modern editions, including Mr. Singer's.

[2] *Quod in hominis potestate relinquit ut pedem referat, et se absque æstimationis suæ jactura de negotio subducat. Si quis enim se manifesta declaratione obstringit, is cuneis quasi impactis includitur; aut pergendum est ei, aut turpiter desistendum.*

[3] So in the original, and also in edition 1639. The translation has: *Etenim ei qui consilia sua profert, non facile quis se adversarium profiteatur, verum assentabitur potius.* I do not remember to have met with this use of *fair* any where else; but it is intelligible enough, and may, I should think, be right.

[4] *perinde ac si simulatio clavis esset ad secreta reseranda.*

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There be also three disadvantages, to set it even. The first, that simulation and dissimulation commonly carry with them a shew of fearfulness, which in any business doth spoil the feathers of round flying up to the mark. The second, that it puzzleth and perplexeth the conceits of many, that perhaps would otherwise co-operate with him; and makes a man walk almost alone to his own ends. The third and greatest, is, that it depriveth a man of one of the most principal instruments for action; which is trust and belief. The best composition and temperature is to have openness in fame and opinion;[1] secrecy in habit; dissimulation in seasonable use; and a power to feign, if there be no remedy.

VII. Of Parents and Children.

The joys of parents are secret; and so are their griefs and fears. They cannot utter the one; nor they will not utter the other. Children sweeten labours; but they make misfortunes more bitter. They increase the cares of life; but they mitigate the remembrance of death. The perpetuity by generation is common to beasts; but memory, merit, and noble works, are proper to men. And surely a man shall see the noblest works and foundations have proceeded from childless men; which have sought to express the images of their minds, where those of their bodies have failed. So the care of posterity is most in them that have no posterity. They that are the first raisers of their houses are most indulgent towards their children; beholding them as the continuance not only of their

[1] *Veracitatis famam.*

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kind but of their work;[1] and so both children and creatures.

The difference in affection of parents towards their several children is many times unequal; and sometimes unworthy; especially in the mother; as Salomon saith, *A wise son rejoiceth the father, but an ungracious son shames the mother.* A man shall see, where there is a house full of children, one or two of the eldest respected, and the youngest made wantons;[2] but in the midst some that are as it were forgotten, who many times nevertheless prove the best. The illiberality of parents in allowance towards their children is an harmful error; makes them base;[3] acquaints them with shifts; makes them sort with mean company; and makes them surfeit more when they come to plenty. And therefore the proof is best, when men keep their authority towards their children, but not their purse.[4] Men have a foolish manner (both parents and schoolmasters and servants) in creating and breeding an emulation between brothers during childhood, which many times sorteth to discord when they are men, and disturbeth families. The Italians make little difference between children and nephews or near kinsfolks; but so they be of the lump, they care not though they pass not through their own body. And, to say truth, in nature it is much a like matter; insomuch that we see a nephew sometimes resembleth an uncle or a kinsman more than his own parent; as the blood happens. Let parents choose betimes[5] the vocations and courses they

[1] *non tantum ut continuationem speciei suæ, sed ut rerum a se gestarum hæredes.*

[2] *in deliciis esse.*

[3] *animo degeneres.*

[4] *auctoritatem tuentur, crumenam laxant.*

[5] *in tenera ætate filiorum suorum.*

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mean their children should take; for then they are most flexible; and let them not too much apply themselves to the disposition of their children, as thinking they will take best to that which they have most mind to. It is true, that if the affection or aptness of the children be extraordinary, then it is good not to cross it; but generally the precept is good, *optimum elige, suave et facile illud faciet consuetudo:* [choose the best — custom will make it pleasant and easy.] Younger brothers are commonly fortunate, but seldom or never where the elder are disinherited.

VIII. Of Marriage and Single Life.

He that hath wife and children hath given hostages to fortune; for they are impediments to great enterprises, either of virtue or mischief. Certainly[1] the best works, and of greatest merit for the public, have proceeded from the unmarried or childless men; which both in affection and means have married and endowed the public. Yet it were great reason that those that have children should have greatest care of future times; unto which they know they must transmit their dearest pledges. Some there are, who though they lead a single life, yet their thoughts do end with themselves, and account future times impertinences.[2] Nay, there are some other that account wife and children but as bills of charges. Nay more, there are some foolish rich covetous men, that take a pride in having no children, because they may be thought so much the

[1] *ut alibi diximus.*
[2] *nihil ad se pertinentia.*

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richer. For perhaps they have heard some talk, *Such an one is a great rich man*, and another except to it, *Yea, but he hath a great charge of children;* as if it were an abatement to his riches. But the most ordinary cause of a single life is liberty, especially in certain self-pleasing and humorous minds, which are so sensible of every restraint, as they will go near to think their girdles and garters to be bonds and shackles. Unmarried men are best friends, best masters, best servants; but not always best subjects; for they are light to run away; and almost all fugitives are of that condition. A single life doth well with churchmen; for charity will hardly water the ground where it must first fill a pool. It is indifferent for judges and magistrates; for if they be facile and corrupt, you shall have a servant five times worse than a wife. For soldiers, I find the generals commonly in their hortatives put men in mind of their wives and children; and I think the despising of marriage amongst the Turks maketh the vulgar soldier more base. Certainly wife and children are a kind of discipline of humanity; and single men, though they may be many times more charitable, because their means are less exhaust, yet, on the other side, they are more cruel and hardhearted, (good to make severe inquisitors,) because their tenderness is not so oft called upon. Grave natures, led by custom, and therefore constant, are commonly loving husbands; as was said of Ulysses, *vetulam suam prætulit immortalitati:* [he preferred his old wife to immortality.] Chaste women are often proud and froward, as presuming upon the merit of their chastity. It is one of the best bonds both of chastity and obedience in the wife, if she think her husband wise; which she will

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never do if she find him jealous. Wives are young men's mistresses; companions for middle age; and old men's nurses. So as a man may have a quarrel to marry when he will. But yet he was reputed one of the wise men, that made answer to the question, when a man should marry?—*A young man not yet, an elder man not at all.* It is often seen that bad husbands have very good wives; whether it be that it raiseth the price of their husband's kindness when it comes; or that the wives take a pride in their patience. But this never fails, if the bad husbands were of their own choosing, against their friends' consent; for then they will be sure to make good their own folly.

IX. Of Envy.

There be none of the affections which have been noted to fascinate or bewitch, but love and envy. They both have vehement wishes; they frame themselves readily into imaginations and suggestions; and they come easily into the eye,[1] especially upon the presence of the objects; which are the points that conduce to fascination, if any such thing there be. We see likewise the scripture calleth envy an *evil eye;* and the astrologers call the evil influences of the stars *evil aspects;* so that still there seemeth to be acknowledged, in the act of envy, an ejaculation or irradiation of the eye. Nay some have been so curious as to note, that the times when the stroke or percussion of an envious eye doth most hurt, are when the party envied is beheld in glory or triumph; for that sets an edge upon

[1] *Uterque facile ascendit in oculos.*

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envy: and besides, at such times the spirits of the person envied do come forth most into the outward parts, and so meet the blow.

But leaving these curiosities, (though not unworthy to be thought on in fit place,) we will handle, what persons are apt to envy others; what persons are most subject to be envied themselves; and what is the difference between public and private envy.

A man that hath no virtue in himself, ever envieth virtue in others. For men's minds will either feed upon their own good or upon others' evil; and who wanteth the one will prey upon the other; and whoso is out of hope to attain to another's virtue, will seek to come at even hand by depressing another's fortune.

A man that is busy and inquisitive is commonly envious. For to know much of other men's matters cannot be because all that ado may concern his own estate; therefore it must needs be that he taketh a kind of play-pleasure[1] in looking upon the fortunes of others. Neither can he that mindeth but his own business find much matter for envy. For envy is a gadding passion, and walketh the streets, and doth not keep home: *Non est curiosus, quin idem sit malevolus:* [There is no curious man but has some malevolence to quicken his curiosity.]

Men of noble birth are noted to be envious towards new men when they rise. For the distance is altered; and it is like a deceit of the eye, that when others come on they think themselves go back.

Deformed persons, and eunuchs, and old men, and bastards, are envious. For he that cannot possibly mend his own case will do what he can to impair an-

[1] *Scenicam quandam voluptatem.*

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other's; except these defects light upon a very brave and heroical nature, which thinketh to make his natural wants part of his honour; in that it should be said, that an eunuch, or a lame man, did such great matters; affecting the honour of a miracle; as it was in Narses the eunuch, and Agesilaus and Tamberlanes, that were lame men.

The same is the case of men that rise after calamities and misfortunes. For they are as men fallen out with the times; and think other men's harms a redemption of their own sufferings.

They that desire to excel in too many matters, out of levity and vain glory, are ever envious. For they cannot want work;[1] it being impossible but many in some one of those things should surpass them. Which was the character of Adrian the Emperor; that mortally envied poets and painters and artificers, in works wherein he had a vein to excel.

Lastly, near kinsfolks, and fellows in office, and those that have been bred together, are more apt to envy their equals when they are raised. For it doth upbraid unto them their own fortunes, and pointeth at them, and cometh oftener into their remembrance, and incurreth likewise more into the note of others; and envy ever redoubleth from speech and fame. Cain's envy was the more vile and malignant towards his brother Abel, because when his sacrifice was better accepted there was no body to look on. Thus much for those that are apt to envy.

Concerning those that are more or less subject to envy: First, persons of eminent virtue, when they

[1] *i. e.* Matter for envy to work upon: *ubique enim occurrunt objecta invidiæ.*

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are advanced, are less envied. For their fortune seemeth but due unto them; and no man envieth the payment of a debt, but rewards and liberality rather.[1] Again, envy is ever joined with the comparing of a man's self; and where there is no comparison, no envy; and therefore kings are not envied but by kings. Nevertheless it is to be noted that unworthy persons are most envied at their first coming in, and afterwards overcome it better;[2] whereas contrariwise, persons of worth and merit are most envied when their fortune continueth long. For by that time, though their virtue be the same, yet it hath not the same lustre; for fresh men grow up that darken it.

Persons of noble blood are less envied in their rising. For it seemeth but right done to their birth.[3] Besides, there seemeth not much added to their fortune; and envy is as the sunbeams, that beat hotter upon a bank or steep rising ground, than upon a flat. And for the same reason those that are advanced by degrees are less envied than those that are advanced suddenly and *per saltum.*

Those that have joined with their honour great travels, cares, or perils, are less subject to envy. For men think that they earn their honours hardly, and pity them sometimes; and pity ever healeth envy. Wherefore you shall observe that the more deep and sober[4] sort of politic persons, in their greatness, are ever bemoaning themselves, what a life they lead; chanting a *quanta patimur.* Not that they feel it so, but only to abate the edge of envy. But this is to be understood

[1] *sed largitioni supra meritum.*
[2] *postea vero minus.*
[3] *nihil aliud videtur quam debitum majoribus suis repensum.*
[4] *magis sanos ac sobrios.*

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of business that is laid upon men, and not such as they call unto themselves. For nothing increaseth envy more than an unnecessary and ambitious engrossing of business. And nothing doth extinguish envy more than for a great person to preserve all other inferior officers in their full rights and preëminences of their places. For by that means there be so many screens between him and envy.

Above all, those are most subject to envy, which carry the greatness of their fortunes in an insolent and proud manner; being never well but while they are shewing how great they are, either by outward pomp, or by triumphing over all opposition or competition; whereas wise men will rather do sacrifice to envy, in suffering themselves sometimes of purpose to be crossed and overborne in things that do not much concern them. Notwithstanding so much is true, that the carriage of greatness in a plain and open manner (so it be without arrogancy and vain glory) doth draw less envy than if it be in a more crafty and cunning fashion. For in that course a man doth but disavow fortune; and seemeth to be conscious of his own want in worth;[1] and doth but teach others to envy him.

Lastly, to conclude this part; as we said in the beginning that the act of envy had somewhat in it of witchcraft, so there is no other cure of envy but the

[1] *nihilominus illud verum est, potentiæ ostentationem apertam et indissimulatam (modo absit arrogantia et gloria inanis) minore invidia laborare, quam si callide et quasi furtim se notæ subtrahat. Etenim hoc cum fit, nihil aliud facit quis quam ut fortunam insimulet, quasi ipse sibi esset conscius indignitatis suæ.* The undisguised assumption and display of greatness is less subject to envy than any furtive attempt to withdraw it from observation: for by seeming to be ashamed of his position, a man admits that he is unworthy of it; and so "disavows" (*i. e.* declines to justify) or impeaches (*i. e.* throws the blame upon) fortune.

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cure of witchcraft; and that is, to remove the *lot* (as they call it) and to lay it upon another. For which purpose, the wiser sort of great persons bring in ever upon the stage somebody upon whom to derive[1] the envy that would come upon themselves; sometimes upon ministers and servants; sometimes upon colleagues and associates; and the like; and for that turn there are never wanting some persons of violent and undertaking natures, who, so they may have power and business, will take it at any cost.

Now, to speak of public envy. There is yet some good in public envy, whereas in private there is none. For public envy is as an ostracism, that eclipseth men when they grow too great. And therefore it is a bridle also to great ones, to keep them within bounds.

This envy, being in the Latin word *invidia*, goeth in the modern languages by the name of *discontentment;* of which we shall speak in handling Sedition. It is a disease in a state like to infection. For as infection spreadeth upon that which is sound, and tainteth it; so when envy is gotten once into a state, it traduceth even the best actions thereof, and turneth them into an ill odour. And therefore there is little won by intermingling of plausible actions. For that doth argue but a weakness and fear of envy, which hurteth so much the more; as it is likewise usual in infections; which if you fear them, you call them upon you.

This public envy seemeth to beat chiefly upon principal officers or ministers, rather than upon kings and estates themselves. But this is a sure rule, that if the envy upon the minister be great, when the cause of it in him is small; or if the envy be general in a man-

[1] Turn from its course.

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ner upon all the ministers of an estate; then the envy (though hidden) is truly upon the state itself. And so much of public envy or discontentment, and the difference thereof from private envy, which was handled in the first place.

We will add this in general, touching the affection of envy; that of all other affections it is the most importune and continual. For of other affections there is occasion given but now and then; and therefore it was well said, *Invidia festos dies non agit:* [Envy keeps no holidays:] for it is ever working upon some or other. And it is also noted that love and envy do make a man pine, which other affections do not, because they are not so continual. It is also the vilest affection, and the most depraved; for which cause it is the proper attribute of the devil, who is called *The envious man, that soweth tares amongst the wheat by night;* as it always cometh to pass, that envy worketh subtilly, and in the dark; and to the prejudice of good things, such as is the wheat.

X. Of Love.

The stage is more beholding to Love, than the life of man. For as to the stage, love is ever matter of comedies, and now and then of tragedies; but in life it doth much mischief; sometimes like a syren, sometimes like a fury. You may observe, that amongst all the great and worthy persons (whereof the memory remaineth, either ancient or recent,) there is not one that hath been transported to the mad degree of love: which shews that great spirits and great business do keep

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out this weak passion. You must except nevertheless Marcus Antonius, the half partner of the empire of Rome, and Appius Claudius, the decemvir and law-giver;[1] whereof the former was indeed a voluptuous man, and inordinate; but the latter was an austere and wise man: and therefore it seems (though rarely) that love can find entrance not only into an open heart, but also into a heart well fortified, if watch be not well kept. It is a poor[2] saying of Epicurus, *Satis magnum alter alteri theatrum sumus:* [Each is to other a theatre large enough]; as if man, made for the contemplation of heaven and all noble objects, should do nothing but kneel before a little idol, and make himself a subject, though not of the mouth (as beasts are), yet of the eye; which was given him for higher purposes. It is a strange thing to note the excess of this passion, and how it braves the nature and value of things, by this; that the speaking in a perpetual hyperbole is comely in nothing but in love. Neither is it merely in the phrase; for whereas it hath been well said that the arch-flatterer, with whom all the petty flatterers have intelligence, is a man's self; certainly the lover is more. For there was never proud man thought so absurdly well of himself as the lover doth of the person loved; and therefore it was well said, *That it is impossible to love and to be wise.*[3] Neither doth this weakness appear to others only, and not to the party loved; but to the loved most of all, except the love be reciproque. For it is a true rule, that love is ever rewarded either with the reciproque or with an inward and secret contempt.

[1] *legislatorum apud Romanos principem.*

[2] *abjectum et pusillanimum.*

[3] *Recte itaque receptum est illud diverbium:* Amare et sapere vix Deo conceditur.

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By how much the more men ought to beware of this passion, which loseth not only other things, but itself. As for the other losses, the poet's relation doth well figure them; That he that preferred Helena, quitted the gifts of Juno and Pallas. For whosoever esteemeth too much of amorous affection quitteth both riches and wisdom. This passion hath his floods in the very times of weakness; which are great prosperity and great adversity; though this latter hath been less observed: both which times kindle love, and make it more fervent, and therefore shew it to be the child of folly. They do best, who if they cannot but admit love, yet make it keep quarter; and sever it wholly from their serious affairs and actions of life; for if it check once with business, it troubleth men's fortunes, and maketh men that they can no ways be true to their own ends. I know not how, but martial men are given to love: I think it is but as they are given to wine; for perils commonly ask to be paid in pleasures. There is in man's nature a secret inclination and motion towards love of others, which if it be not spent upon some one or a few, doth naturally spread itself towards many, and maketh men become humane and charitable; as it is seen sometime in friars. Nuptial love maketh mankind; friendly love perfecteth it; but wanton love corrupteth and embaseth it.

XI. Of Great Place.

Men in great place are thrice servants: servants of the sovereign or state; servants of fame; and servants of business. So as they have no freedom; neither in

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their persons, nor in their actions, nor in their times. It is a strange desire, to seek power and to lose liberty: or to seek power over others and to lose power over a man's self. The rising unto place is laborious; and by pains men come to greater pains; and it is sometimes base; and by indignities men come to dignities. The standing is slippery, and the regress is either a downfall, or at least an eclipse, which is a melancholy thing. *Cum non sis qui fueris, non esse cur velis vivere:* [When a man feels that he is no longer what he was, he loses all his interest in life.] Nay, retire men cannot when they would, neither will they when it were reason; but are impatient of privateness, even in age and sickness, which require the shadow; like old townsmen, that will be still sitting at their street door, though thereby they offer age to scorn. Certainly great persons had need to borrow other men's opinions, to think themselves happy; for if they judge by their own feeling, they cannot find it: but if they think with themselves what other men think of them, and that other men would fain be as they are, then they are happy as it were by report; when perhaps they find the contrary within. For they are the first that find their own griefs, though they be the last that find their own faults. Certainly men in great fortunes are strangers to themselves, and while they are in the puzzle of business they have no time to tend their health either of body or mind. *Illi mors gravis incubat, qui notus nimis omnibus, ignotus moritur sibi:* [It is a sad fate for a man to die too well known to every-body else, and still unknown to himself.] In place there is licence to do good and evil; whereof the latter is a curse: for in evil the best condition is not to will; the second

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not to can. But power to do good is the true and lawful end of aspiring. For good thoughts (though God accept them) yet towards men are little better than good dreams, except they be put in act; and that cannot be without power and place, as the vantage and commanding ground. Merit and good works is the end of man's motion; and conscience of the same is the accomplishment of man's rest. For if a man can be partaker of God's theatre, he shall likewise be partaker of God's rest. *Et conversus Deus, ut aspiceret opera quæ fecerunt manus suæ, vidit quod omnia essent bona nimis;* [And God turned to look upon the works which his hands had made, and saw that all were very good;] and then the sabbath. In the discharge of thy place set before thee the best examples; for imitation is a globe of precepts. And after a time set before thee thine own example; and examine thyself strictly whether thou didst not best at first. Neglect not also the examples of those that have carried themselves ill in the same place; not to set off thyself by taxing their memory, but to direct thyself what to avoid. Reform therefore, without bravery[1] or scandal of former times and persons; but yet set it down to thyself as well to create good precedents as to follow them. Reduce things to the first institution, and observe wherein and how they have degenerate; but yet ask counsel of both times; of the ancient time, what is best; and of the latter time, what is fittest. Seek to make thy course regular,[2] that men may know beforehand what they may expect; but be not too positive and peremptory;

[1] *sed absque elatione tui ipsius.*

[2] *Contende ut quæ* agis pro Potestate *tanquam regulis quibusdam cohibeantur; ut hominibus tanquam digito monstres, quid illis sit expectandum.*

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and express thyself well when thou digressest from thy rule. Preserve the right of thy place; but stir not questions of jurisdiction: and rather assume thy right in silence and *de facto*, than voice it with claims and challenges. Preserve likewise the rights of inferior places; and think it more honour to direct in chief than to be busy in all. Embrace and invite helps and advices touching the execution of thy place; and do not drive away such as bring thee information, as meddlers; but accept of them in good part. The vices of authority are chiefly four; delays, corruption, roughness, and facility. For delays; give easy access; keep times appointed; go through with that which is in hand, and interlace not business but of necessity. For corruption; do not only bind thine own hands or thy servants' hands from taking, but bind the hands of suitors also from offering. For integrity used doth the one; but integrity professed, and with a manifest detestation of bribery, doth the other. And avoid not only the fault, but the suspicion. Whosoever is found variable, and changeth manifestly without manifest cause, giveth suspicion of corruption. Therefore always when thou changest thine opinion or course, profess it plainly, and declare it, together with the reasons that move thee to change; and do not think to steal it. A servant or a favourite, if he be inward, and no other apparent cause of esteem, is commonly thought but a by-way to close corruption. For roughness; it is a needless cause of discontent:[1] severity breedeth fear, but roughness breedeth hate. Even reproofs from authority ought to be grave, and not taunting. As for facility; it is worse than bribery. For bribes come

[1] *invidiam et malevolentiam parit illa, nihil inde metens.*

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but now and then; but if importunity or idle respects lead a man, he shall never be without. As Salomon saith, *To respect persons is not good; for such a man will transgress for a piece of bread.* It is most true that was anciently spoken, *A place sheweth the man.* And it sheweth some to the better, and some to the worse. *Omnium consensu capax imperii, nisi imperasset,* [a man whom every body would have thought fit for empire if he had not been emperor,] saith Tacitus of Galba; but of Vespasian he saith, *Solus imperantium, Vespasianus mutatus in melius:* [He was the only emperor whom the possession of power changed for the better;] though the one was meant of sufficiency,[1] the other of manners and affection. It is an assured sign of a worthy and generous spirit, whom honour amends. For honour is, or should be, the place of virtue; and as in nature things move violently to their place and calmly in their place, so virtue in ambition is violent, in authority settled and calm. All rising to great place is by a winding stair; and if there be factions, it is good to side a man's self whilst he is in the rising, and to balance himself when he is placed. Use the memory of thy predecessor fairly and tenderly; for if thou dost not, it is a debt will sure be paid when thou art gone. If thou have colleagues, respect them, and rather call them when they look not for it, than exclude them when they have reason to look to be called. Be not too sensible or too remembering of thy place in conversation and private answers to suitors;[2] but let it rather be said, *When he sits in place he is another man.*

[1] *de arte imperatoriâ.*
[2] *in quotidianis sermonibus aut conversatione privatâ.*

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XII. Of Boldness.

It is a trivial grammar-school text, but yet worthy a wise man's consideration. Question was asked of Demosthenes, *what was the chief part of an orator?* he answered, *action:* what next? *action:* what next again? *action.* He said it that knew it best, and had by nature himself no advantage in that he commended. A strange thing, that that part of an orator which is but superficial, and rather the virtue of a player, should be placed so high, above those other noble parts of invention, elocution, and the rest; nay almost alone, as if it were all in all. But the reason is plain. There is in human nature generally more of the fool than of the wise; and therefore those faculties by which the foolish part of men's minds is taken are most potent. Wonderful like is the case of Boldness, in civil business; what first? Boldness: what second and third? Boldness. And yet boldness is a child of ignorance and baseness, far inferior to other parts. But nevertheless it doth fascinate and bind hand and foot those that are either shallow in judgment or weak in courage, which are the greatest part; yea and prevaileth with wise men at weak times. Therefore we see it hath done wonders in popular states; but with senates and princes less; and more ever upon the first entrance of bold persons into action than soon after; for boldness is an ill keeper of promise. Surely as there are mountebanks for the natural body, so are there mountebanks for the politic body; men that undertake great cures, and perhaps have been lucky in two or three experiments, but want the grounds of science, and therefore cannot hold out. Nay you shall see a bold fellow

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many times do Mahomet's miracle. Mahomet made the people believe that he would call an hill to him, and from the top of it offer up his prayers for the observers of his law. The people assembled; Mahomet called the hill to come to him, again and again; and when the hill stood still, he was never a whit abashed, but said, *If the hill will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet will go to the hill.* So these men, when they have promised great matters and failed most shamefully, yet (if they have the perfection of boldness) they will but slight it over, and make a turn, and no more ado. Certainly to men of great judgment, bold persons are a sport to behold; nay and to the vulgar also, boldness has somewhat of the ridiculous. For if absurdity be the subject of laughter, doubt you not but great boldness is seldom without some absurdity. Especially it is a sport to see, when a bold fellow is out of countenance; for that puts his face into a most shrunken and wooden posture;[1] as needs it must; for in bashfulness the spirits do a little go and come; but with bold men, upon like occasion, they stand at a stay; like a stale at chess, where it is no mate, but yet the game cannot stir. But this last were fitter for a satire than for a serious observation. This is well to be weighed; that boldness is ever blind; for it seeth not dangers and inconveniences. Therefore it is ill in counsel, good in execution; so that the right use of bold persons is, that they never command in chief, but be seconds, and under the direction of others. For in counsel it is good to see dangers; and in execution not to see them, except they be very great.

[1] *vultum enim tunc nanciscitur in se reductum, sed deformiter.*

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XIII. Of Goodness and Goodness of Nature.

I take Goodness in this sense, the affecting of the weal of men, which is that the Grecians call *Philanthropia;* and the word *humanity* (as it is used) is a little too light[1] to express it. Goodness I call the habit, and Goodness of Nature the inclination. This of all virtues and dignities of the mind is the greatest; being the character of the Deity: and without it man[2] is a busy, mischievous, wretched thing; no better than a kind of vermin. Goodness answers to the theological virtue Charity, and admits no excess, but error. The desire of power in excess caused the angels to fall; the desire of knowledge in excess caused man to fall: but in charity there is no excess; neither can angel or man come in danger by it. The inclination to goodness is imprinted deeply in the nature of man; insomuch that if it issue not towards men, it will take unto other living creatures; as it is seen in the Turks, a cruel people, who nevertheless are kind to beasts, and give alms to dogs and birds; insomuch as Busbechius reporteth, a Christian boy in Constantinople had like to have been stoned for gagging in a waggishness a long-billed fowl.[3] Errors indeed in this virtue of goodness or charity may be committed. The Italians have an ungracious proverb, *Tanto buon che val niente; So good, that he is good for nothing.* And one of the doc-

[1] *levius aliquanto et angustius.*

[2] *homo animalis.*

[3] The Latin translation has, more correctly, *adeo ut (referente Busbequio) aurifex quidam Venetus, Byzantii agens, vix furorem populi effugerit, quod avis cujusdam rostri oblongi fauces inserto baculo diduxisset.* The bird was a goat-sucker, which the goldsmith ("homo alioqui ridiculus") fastened over his door with wings spread and jaws distended. The story will be found in Busbequius's letter from Constantinople, p. 179 of ed. 1633.

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tors of Italy,[1] Nicholas Machiavel, had the confidence to put in writing, almost in plain terms, *That the Christian faith had given up good men in prey to those that are tyrannical and unjust.* Which he spake, because indeed there was never law, or sect, or opinion, did so much magnify goodness, as the Christian religion doth. Therefore, to avoid the scandal and the danger both, it is good to take knowledge of the errors of an habit so excellent. Seek the good of other men, but be not in bondage to their faces or fancies; for that is but facility or softness; which taketh an honest mind prisoner. Neither give thou Æsop's cock a gem, who would be better pleased and happier if he had a barley-corn. The example of God teacheth the lesson truly; *He sendeth his rain, and maketh his sun to shine, upon the just and unjust;* but he doth not rain wealth, nor shine honour and virtues, upon men equally. Common benefits are to be communicate with all; but peculiar benefits with choice. And beware how in making the portraiture thou breakest the pattern. For divinity maketh the love of ourselves the pattern; the love of our neighbours but the portraiture. *Sell all thou hast, and give it to the poor, and follow me:* but sell not all thou hast, except thou come and follow me; that is, except thou have a vocation wherein thou mayest do as much good with little means as with great; for otherwise in feeding the streams thou driest the fountain. Neither is there only a habit of goodness, directed by right reason; but there is in some men, even in nature, a disposition towards it; as on the other side there is a

[1] These words are omitted in the translation; no doubt as likely to give offence at Rome. The Italian translation has "quel empio Nicolo Macciavello."

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natural malignity. For there be that in their nature do not affect the good of others.[1] The lighter sort of malignity turneth but to a crossness, or frowardness, or aptness to oppose, or difficilness, or the like; but the deeper sort to envy and mere mischief. Such men in other men's calamities are, as it were, in season, and are ever on the loading part:[2] not so good as the dogs that licked Lazarus' sores; but like flies that are still buzzing upon any thing that is raw; *misanthropi*,[3] that make it their practice to bring men to the bough, and yet have never a tree for the purpose in their gardens,[4] as Timon had. Such dispositions are the very errours of human nature;[5] and yet they are the fittest timber to make great politiques of; like to knee timber, that is good for ships, that are ordained to be tossed; but not for building houses, that shall stand firm. The parts and signs of goodness are many. If a man be gracious and courteous to strangers, it shews he is a citizen of the world, and that his heart is no island cut off from other lands, but a continent that joins to them. If he be compassionate towards the afflictions of others, it shews that his heart is like the noble tree that is wounded itself when it gives the balm. If he easily pardons and remits offences, it shews that his mind is planted above injuries; so that he cannot be shot. If he be thankful for small benefits, it shews that he weighs men's minds, and not their trash. But above

[1] *qui ingenii proprii instinctu aversentur aliorum bonum.*

[2] *easque semper aggravant.*

[3] *Non paucos reperias* misanthropos; *quibus volupe est, &c.*

[4] That is, I suppose, without openly professing it. The Italian translation introduces the word *palesemente:* "et con tutto ciò non hanno palesemente nei loro giardini à tal proposito l' albero di Timone."

[5] *non injuriâ vocare licet humanæ naturæ vomicas et carcinomata.*

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all, if he have St. Paul's perfection, that he would wish to be an *anathema* from Christ for the salvation of his brethren, it shews much of a divine nature, and a kind of conformity with Christ himself.

XIV. Of Nobility.

We will speak of Nobility first as a portion of an estate; then as a condition of particular persons. A monarchy where there is no nobility at all, is ever a pure and absolute tyranny; as that of the Turks. For nobility attempers sovereignty, and draws the eyes of the people somewhat aside from the line royal. But for democracies, they need it not; and they are commonly more quiet and less subject to sedition, than where there are stirps of nobles. For men's eyes are upon the business, and not upon the persons; or if upon the persons, it is for the business sake, as fittest, and not for flags and pedigree.[1] We see the Switzers last well, notwithstanding their diversity of religion and of cantons. For utility is their bond, and not respects.[2] The united provinces of the Low Countries in their government excel; for where there is an equality, the consultations are more indifferent, and the payments and tributes more cheerful. A great and potent nobility addeth majesty to a monarch, but diminisheth power; and putteth life and spirit into the people, but presseth their fortune. It is well when nobles are not too great for sovereignty nor for justice; and yet

[1] *vel si omnino in personas, id fit tanquam in maxime idoneas rebus gerendis, minime vero ut ratio habeatur insignium aut imaginum.*

[2] *dignitas.*

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maintained in that height, as the insolency of inferiors may be broken upon them[1] before it come on too fast upon the majesty of kings. A numerous nobility causeth poverty and inconvenience in a state;[2] for it is a surcharge of expense; and besides, it being of necessity that many of the nobility fall in time to be weak in fortune, it maketh a kind of disproportion between honour and means.

As for nobility in particular persons; it is a reverend thing to see an ancient castle or building not in decay; or to see a fair timber tree sound and perfect. How much more to behold an ancient noble family, which hath stood against the waves and weathers of time. For new nobility is but the act of power, but ancient nobility is the act of time. Those that are first raised to nobility are commonly more virtuous, but less innocent, than their descendants;[3] for there is rarely any rising but by a commixture of good and evil arts. But it is reason the memory of their virtues remain to their posterity, and their faults die with themselves. Nobility of birth commonly abateth industry; and he that is not industrious, envieth him that is. Besides, noble persons cannot go much higher: and he that standeth at a stay when others rise, can hardly avoid motions of envy. On the other side, nobility extinguisheth the passive envy from others towards them; because they are in possession of honour.[4] Certainly, kings that have able men of their

[1] *illorum reverentiâ, tanquam obice, retundatur.*

[2] *Rursus numerosa nobilitas, quæ plerumque minus potens est, statum prorsus depauperat.*

[3] *virtutum claritudine plerumque posteris eminent, sed innocentiâ minime.*

[4] That is, *born* in possession. *Eo quod nobiles in honorum possessione nati videntur.*

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nobility shall find ease in employing them, and a better slide into their business;[1] for people naturally bend to them, as born in some sort to command.

XV. Of Seditions and Troubles.

Shepherds of people had need know the calendars[2] of tempests in state; which are commonly greatest when things grow to equality; as natural tempests are greatest about the *Equinoctia*. And as there are certain hollow[3] blasts of wind and secret swellings of seas before a tempest, so are there in states:

> —— Ille etiam cæcos instare tumultus
> Sæpe monet, fraudesque et operta tumescere bella.
>
> [Of troubles imminent and treasons dark
> Thence warning comes, and wars in secret gathering.]

Libels and licentious discourses against the state, when they are frequent and open; and in like sort, false news often running up and down to the disadvantage of the state, and hastily embraced; are amongst the signs of troubles. Virgil giving the pedigree of Fame, saith *she was sister to the Giants:*

> Illam Terra parens, irâ irritata Deorum,
> Extremam (ut perhibent) Cœo Enceladoque sororem
> Progenuit.

As if fames were the relics of seditions past; but they are no less indeed the preludes of seditions to come. Howsoever he noteth it right, that seditious tumults and seditious fames differ no more but as brother and

[1] *negotia sua mollius fluere sentient, si eos potissimum adhibeant.*
[2] *Prognostica.*
[3] *cavos, et veluti a longinquo.*

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sister, masculine and feminine; especially if it come to that, that the best actions of a state, and the most plausible, and which ought to give greatest contentment, are taken in ill sense, and traduced: for that shews the envy great, as Tacitus saith, *conflata magna invidia, seu bene seu male gesta premunt:* [when dislike prevails against the government, good actions and bad offend alike.] Neither doth it follow, that because these fames are a sign of troubles, that[1] the suppressing of them with too much severity should be a remedy of troubles. For the despising of them many times checks them best; and the going about to stop them doth but make a wonder long-lived.[2] Also that kind of obedience which Tacitus speaketh of, is to be held suspected: *Erant in officio, sed tamen qui mallent mandata imperantium interpretari quam exequi;* [ready to serve, and yet more disposed to construe commands than execute them;] disputing, excusing, cavilling upon mandates and directions, is a kind of shaking off the yoke, and assay of disobedience; especially if in those disputings they which are for the direction speak fearfully and tenderly, and those that are against it audaciously.

Also, as Machiavel[3] noteth well, when princes, that ought to be common parents, make themselves as a party, and lean to a side, it is as a boat that is overthrown by uneven weight on the one side; as was well seen in the time of Henry the Third of France; for first himself entered league for the extirpation of the Protestants; and presently after the same league was

[1] So in original. One of the *thats* should of course be omitted.

[2] *nihil aliud fere efficit quam ut durent magis.*

[3] The Italian translation omits the name of Machiavel, and says only *un scrittore.*

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turned upon himself. For when the authority of princes is made but an accessary to a cause, and that there be other bands that tie faster than the band of sovereignty, kings begin to be put almost out of possession.

Also, when discords, and quarrels, and factions, are carried openly and audaciously, it is a sign the reverence of government is lost. For the motions of the greatest persons in a government ought to be as the motions of the planets under *primum mobile;* (according to the old opinion,) which is, that every of them is carried swiftly by the highest motion, and softly in their own motion.[1] And therefore, when great ones in their own particular motion move violently, and, as Tacitus expresseth it well, *liberius quam ut imperantium meminissent*, [unrestrained by reverence for the government,] it is a sign the orbs are out of frame. For reverence is that wherewith princes are girt from God; who threateneth[2] the dissolving thereof; *Solvam cingula regum:* [I will unbind the girdles of kings.]

So when any of the four pillars of government are mainly shaken or weakened (which are Religion, Justice, Counsel, and Treasure), men had need to pray for fair weather. But let us pass from this part of predictions (concerning which, nevertheless, more light may be taken from that which followeth); and let us speak first of the Materials of seditions; then of the Motives of them; and thirdly of the Remedies.

Concerning the Materials of seditions. It is a thing

[1] *qui rapide quidem circumferuntur secundum motum* primi mobilis, *leniter autem renituntur in motu proprio.*

[2] That is, holds it out as a threat. A manuscript copy of this Essay in an earlier form (which will be given in the Appendix) has, "who threateneth the dissolving thereof as one of his greatest judgments."

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well to be considered; for the surest way to prevent seditions (if the times do bear it) is to take away the matter of them. For if there be fuel prepared, it is hard to tell whence the spark shall come that shall set it on fire. The matter of seditions is of two kinds; much poverty and much discontentment. It is certain, so many overthrown estates, so many votes for troubles. Lucan noteth well the state of Rome before the civil war,

> Hinc usura vorax, rapidumque in tempore fœnus,
> Hinc concussa fides, et multis utile bellum:

[estates eaten up by usurious rates of interest, credit shaken, war a gain to many.]

This same *multis utile bellum*, is an assured and infallible sign of a state disposed to seditions and troubles. And if this poverty and broken estate in the better sort be joined with a want and necessity in the mean people, the danger is imminent and great. For the rebellions of the belly are the worst. As for discontentments,[1] they are in the politic body like to humours in the natural, which are apt to gather a preternatural heat and to inflame. And let no prince measure the danger of them by this, whether they be just or unjust: for that were to imagine people to be too reasonable; who do often spurn at their own good: nor yet by this, whether the griefs whereupon they rise be in fact great or small: for they are the most dangerous discontentments where the fear is greater than the feeling: *Dolendi modus, timendi non item:* [Suffering has its limit, but fears are endless.] Besides, in great oppressions, the same things that provoke the patience, do

[1] *alienationes animorum, et tædium rerum præsentium.*

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withal mate the courage; but in fears it is not so. Neither let any prince or state be secure concerning discontentments, because they have been often, or have been long, and yet no peril hath ensued: for as it is true that every vapour or fume doth not turn into a storm; so it is nevertheless true that storms, though they blow over divers times, yet may fall at last; and, as the Spanish proverb noteth well, *The cord breaketh at the last by the weakest pull.*

The Causes and Motives of seditions are, innovation in religion; taxes; alteration of laws and customs; breaking of privileges; general oppression; advancement of unworthy persons; strangers; dearths; disbanded soldiers; factions grown desperate; and whatsoever, in offending people, joineth and knitteth them in a common cause.

For the Remedies; there may be some general preservatives, whereof we will speak: as for the just cure, it must answer to the particular disease; and so be left to counsel rather than rule.

The first remedy or prevention is to remove by all means possible that material cause of sedition whereof we spake; which is, want and poverty in the estate. To which purpose serveth, the opening and well-balancing of trade; the cherishing of manufactures; the banishing of idleness; the repressing of waste and excess by sumptuary laws; the improvement and husbanding of the soil; the regulating of prices of things vendible; the moderating of taxes and tributes, and the like. Generally, it is to be foreseen that the population of a kingdom (especially if it be not mown down by wars) do not exceed the stock of the kingdom which should maintain them. Neither is the popula-

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tion to be reckoned only by number; for a smaller number that spend more and earn less, do wear out an estate sooner than a greater number that live lower and gather more. Therefore the multiplying of nobility and other degrees of quality in an over proportion to the common people, doth speedily bring a state to necessity; and so doth likewise an overgrown clergy; for they bring nothing to the stock; and in like manner, when more are bred scholars than preferments can take off.

It is likewise to be remembered, that forasmuch as the increase of any estate must be upon the foreigner (for whatsoever is somewhere gotten is somewhere lost), there be but three things which one nation selleth unto another; the commodity as nature yieldeth it; the manufacture; and the vecture, or carriage. So that if these three wheels go, wealth will flow as in a spring tide. And it cometh many times to pass, that *materiam superabit opus;* that the work and carriage is more worth than the material, and enricheth a state more; as is notably seen in the Low-Countrymen, who have the best mines above ground in the world.

Above all things, good policy is to be used that the treasure and monies in a state be not gathered into few hands. For otherwise a state may have a great stock, and yet starve. And money is like muck, not good except it be spread. This is done chiefly by suppressing, or at the least keeping a strait hand upon the devouring trades of usury, ingrossing,[1] great pasturages, and the like.

For removing discontentments, or at least the danger of them; there is in every state (as we know) two

[1] *monopoliorum.*

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portions of subjects; the nobless and the commonalty. When one of these is discontent, the danger is not great; for common people are of slow motion, if they be not excited by the greater sort; and the greater sort are of small strength, except the multitude be apt and ready to move of themselves. Then is the danger, when the greater sort do but wait for the troubling of the waters amongst the meaner, that then they may declare themselves. The poets feign, that the rest of the gods would have bound Jupiter; which he hearing of, by the counsel of Pallas, sent for Briareus, with his hundred hands, to come in to his aid. An emblem, no doubt, to show how safe it is for monarchs to make sure of the good will of common people.

To give moderate liberty for griefs and discontentments to evaporate (so it be without too great insolency or bravery), is a safe way. For he that turneth the humours back, and maketh the wound bleed inwards, endangereth malign ulcers and pernicious imposthumations.

The part of Epimetheus mought well become Prometheus, in the case of discontentments; for there is not a better provision against them. Epimetheus, when griefs and evils flew abroad, at last shut the lid, and kept hope in the bottom of the vessel. Certainly, the politic and artificial nourishing and entertaining of hopes, and carrying men from hopes to hopes, is one of the best antidotes against the poison of discontentments. And it is a certain sign of a wise government and proceeding, when it can hold men's hearts by hopes, when it cannot by satisfaction; and when it can handle things in such manner, as no evil shall appear so peremptory but that it hath some outlet of hope:

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which is the less hard to do, because both particular persons and factions are apt enough to flatter themselves, or at least to brave that they believe not.[1]

Also the foresight and prevention, that there be no likely or fit head whereunto discontented persons may resort, and under whom they may join, is a known, but an excellent point of caution. I understand a fit head to be one that hath greatness and reputation; that hath confidence with the discontented party, and upon whom they turn their eyes; and that is thought discontented in his own particular: which kind of persons are either to be won and reconciled to the state, and that in a fast and true manner; or to be fronted with some other of the same party, that may oppose them, and so divide the reputation. Generally, the dividing and breaking of all factions and combinations that are adverse to the state, and setting them at distance, or at least distrust, amongst themselves, is not one of the worst remedies. For it is a desperate case, if those that hold with the proceeding of the state be full of discord and faction, and those that are against it be entire and united.

I have noted that some witty and sharp speeches which have fallen from princes have given fire to seditions. Cæsar did himself infinite hurt in that speech, *Sylla nescivit literas, non potuit dictare:* [Sylla was no scholar, he could not dictate:] for it did utterly cut off that hope which men had entertained, that he would at one time or other give over his dictatorship. Galba undid himself by that speech, *legi a se militem, non emi;* [that he did not buy his soldiers, but levied them:] for it put the soldiers out of hope of the dona-

[1] *aut saltem ostentare, in gloriam suam, quod non omnino credunt.*

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tive. Probus likewise, by that speech, *si vixero, non opus erit amplius Romano imperio militibus;* [if I live, the Roman empire shall have no more need of soldiers:] a speech of great despair for the soldiers. And many the like. Surely princes had need, in tender matters and ticklish times, to beware what they say; especially in these short speeches, which fly abroad like darts, and are thought to be shot out of their secret intentions. For as for large discourses, they are flat things, and not so much noted.

Lastly, let princes, against all events, not be without some great person, one or rather more, of military valour, near unto them, for the repressing of seditions in their beginnings. For without that, there useth to be more trepidation in court upon the first breaking out of troubles than were fit. And the state runneth the danger of that which Tacitus saith; *Atque is habitus animorum fuit, ut pessimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes paterentur:* [A few were in a humour to attempt mischief, more to desire, all to allow it.] But let such military persons be assured, and well reputed of, rather than factious and popular; holding also good correspondence with the other great men in the state; or else the remedy is worse than the disease.

XVI. Of Atheism.

I had rather believe all the fables in the Legend, and the Talmud, and the Alcoran,[1] than that this universal frame is without a mind. And therefore God

[1] In the edition of 1612, it stood, "all the fables in the Legend and the Alcoran." The Italian translation omits the Legend, and has only "tutte le favole dell' Alcorano."

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never wrought miracle to convince atheism, because his ordinary works convince it. It is true, that a little philosophy inclineth man's mind to atheism; but depth in philosophy bringeth men's minds about to religion. For while the mind of man looketh upon second causes scattered, it may sometimes rest in them, and go no further; but when it beholdeth the chain of them, confederate and linked together, it must needs fly to Providence and Deity. Nay, even that school which is most accused of atheism doth most demonstrate religion; that is, the school of Leucippus and Democritus and Epicurus. For it is a thousand times more credible, that four mutable elements, and one immutable fifth essence, duly and eternally placed, need no God, than that an army of infinite small portions or seeds unplaced, should have produced this order and beauty without a divine marshal. The scripture saith, *The fool hath said in his heart, there is no God;* it is not said, *The fool hath thought in his heart;* so as he rather saith it by rote to himself, as that he would have, than that he can thoroughly believe it, or be persuaded of it. For none deny there is a God, but those for whom it maketh that there were no God. It appeareth in nothing more, that atheism is rather in the lip than in the heart of man, than by this; that atheists will ever be talking of that their opinion, as if they fainted in it within themselves, and would be glad to be strengthened by the consent of others. Nay more, you shall have atheists strive to get disciples, as it fareth with other sects. And, which is most of all,[1] you shall have of them that will suffer for atheism, and not recant; whereas if they did truly think that there

[1] *quod monstri simile est.*

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were no such thing as God, why should they trouble themselves? Epicurus is charged that he did but dissemble for his credit's sake, when he affirmed there were blessed natures, but such as enjoyed themselves without having respect to the government of the world. Wherein they say he did temporize; though in secret he thought there was no God. But certainly he is traduced; for his words are noble and divine: *Non Deos vulgi negare profanum; sed vulgi opiniones Diis applicare profanum:* [There is no profanity in refusing to believe in the Gods of the vulgar: the profanity is in believing of the Gods what the vulgar believe of them.] Plato could have said no more. And although he had the confidence to deny the administration, he had not the power to deny the nature. The Indians of the west have names for their particular gods, though they have no name for God: as if the heathens should have had the names Jupiter, Apollo, Mars, &c. but not the word *Deus;* which shews that even those barbarous people have the notion, though they have not the latitude and extent of it. So that against atheists the very savages take part with the very subtlest philosophers. The contemplative atheist is rare: a Diagoras, a Bion, a Lucian perhaps, and some others; and yet they seem to be more than they are; for that all that impugn a received religion or superstition are by the adverse part branded with the name of atheists. But the great atheists indeed are hypocrites; which are ever handling holy things, but without feeling; so as they must needs be cauterized in the end. The causes of atheism are; divisions in religion, if they be many; for any one main division addeth zeal to both sides; but many divisions intro-

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duce atheism. Another is, scandal of priests; when it is come to that which St. Bernard saith, *Non est jam dicere, ut populus sic sacerdos; quia nec sic populus ut sacerdos:* [One cannot now say, the priest is as the people, for the truth is that the people are not so bad as the priest.] A third is, custom of profane scoffing in holy matters; which doth by little and little deface the reverence of religion. And lastly, learned times, specially with peace and prosperity; for troubles and adversities do more bow men's minds to religion. They that deny a God destroy man's nobility; for certainly man is of kin to the beasts by his body; and, if he be not of kin to God by his spirit, he is a base and ignoble creature. It destroys likewise magnanimity, and the raising of human nature; for take an example of a dog, and mark what a generosity and courage he will put on when he finds himself maintained by a man; who to him is instead of a God, or *melior natura;* which courage is manifestly such as that creature, without that confidence of a better nature than his own, could never attain. So man, when he resteth and assureth himself upon divine protection and favour, gathereth a force and faith which human nature in itself could not obtain. Therefore, as atheism is in all respects hateful, so in this, that it depriveth human nature of the means to exalt itself above human frailty. As it is in particular persons, so it is in nations. Never was there such a state for magnanimity as Rome. Of this state hear what Cicero saith: *Quam volumus licet, patres conscripti, nos amemus, tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pœnos, nec artibus Grœcos, nec denique hoc ipso hujus gentis et terræ domestico nativoque sensu Italos ipsos et Latinos; sed pietate,*

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ac religione, atque hac una sapientia, quod Deorum immortalium numine omnia regi gubernarique perspeximus, omnes gentes nationesque superavimus: [Pride ourselves as we may upon our country, yet are we not in number superior to the Spaniards, nor in strength to the Gauls, nor in cunning to the Carthaginians, nor to the Greeks in arts, nor to the Italians and Latins themselves in the homely and native sense which belongs to this nation and land; it is in piety only and religion, and the wisdom of regarding the providence of the Immortal Gods as that which rules and governs all things, that we have surpassed all nations and peoples.]

XVII. Of Superstition.[1]

It were better to have no opinion of God at all, than such an opinion as is unworthy[2] of him. For the one is unbelief, the other is contumely: and certainly superstition is the reproach of the Deity. Plutarch saith well to that purpose: *Surely* (saith he) *I had rather a great deal men should say there was no such man at all as Plutarch, than that they should say that there was one Plutarch that would eat his children as soon as they were born;* as the poets speak of Saturn. And as the contumely is greater towards God, so the danger is greater towards men. Atheism leaves a man to sense, to philosophy, to natural piety, to laws, to reputation;[3] all which may be guides to an outward moral virtue, though religion were not; but super-

[1] This Essay is omitted in the Italian translation.

[2] *contumeliosam et Deo indignam.*

[3] *Atheismus non prorsus convellit dictamina censûs, non philosophiam, affectus naturales, leges, bonæ famæ desiderium.*

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stition dismounts all these, and erecteth an absolute monarchy in the minds of men. Therefore atheism did never perturb states; for it makes men wary of themselves, as looking no further:[1] and we see the times inclined to atheism (as the time of Augustus Cæsar) were civil[2] times. But superstition hath been the confusion of many states, and bringeth in a new *primum mobile*, that ravisheth all the spheres of government. The master of superstition is the people; and in all superstition wise men follow fools; and arguments are fitted to practice, in a reversed order.[3] It was gravely said by some of the prelates in the council of Trent, where the doctrine of the schoolmen bare great sway, *that the schoolmen were like astronomers, which did feign eccentrics and epicycles, and such engines of orbs, to save the phænomena; though they knew there were no such things;* and in like manner, that the schoolmen had framed a number of subtle and intricate axioms and theorems, to save the practice of the church. The causes of superstition are, pleasing and sensual rites and ceremonies; excess of outward and pharisaical holiness; over-great reverence of traditions, which cannot but load the church; the stratagems of prelates for their own ambition and lucre; the favouring too much of good intentions, which openeth the gate to conceits and novelties;[4] the taking an aim at divine matters by human, which cannot but breed mixture of imaginations:[5] and, lastly, barbarous times,

[1] *cautos . . . . . et securitati suæ consulentes.*

[2] *tranquilla.*

[3] That is, reason is governed by practice, instead of practice by reason. *Argumenta practicæ succumbunt, ordine perverso.*

[4] *novitatibus et ethelothreskiis.*

[5] *Exemplorum importuna et inepta petitio ab humanis, quæ in divina*

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especially joined with calamities and disasters. Superstition, without a veil, is a deformed thing; for as it addeth deformity to an ape to be so like a man, so the similitude of superstition to religion makes it the more deformed. And as wholesome meat corrupteth to little worms, so good forms and orders corrupt into a number of petty observances. There is a superstition in avoiding superstition, when men think to do best if they go furthest from the superstition formerly received; therefore care would be had[1] that (as it fareth in ill purgings) the good be not taken away with the bad; which commonly is done when the people is the reformer.

XVIII. Of Travel.

Travel, in the younger sort, is a part of education; in the elder, a part of experience. He that travelleth into a country before he hath some entrance into the language, goeth to school, and not to travel. That young men travel under some tutor, or grave servant,[2] I allow well; so that he be such a one that hath the language, and hath been in the country before; whereby he may be able to tell them what things are worthy to be seen in the country where they go; what acquaintances they are to seek; what exercises or discipline the place yieldeth. For else young men shall go hooded, and look abroad little. It is a strange thing, that in sea voyages, where there is nothing to be seen but sky and sea, men should make diaries; but in land-

transferantur, quæ necessario parit fantasiarum male cohærentium mixturam.

[1] *curæ esse debet in Religione reformandâ.*

[2] *servo aliquo experto.*

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travel, wherein so much is to be observed, for the most part they omit it; as if chance were fitter to be registered than observation. Let diaries therefore be brought in use. The things to be seen and observed are, the courts of princes, specially when they give audience to ambassadors; the courts of justice, while they sit and hear causes; and so of consistories ecclesiastic; the churches and monasteries, with the monuments which are therein extant; the walls and fortifications of cities and towns, and so the havens and harbours; antiquities and ruins; libraries; colleges, disputations, and lectures, where any are; shipping and navies; houses and gardens of state and pleasure, near great cities; armories; arsenals; magazines; exchanges; burses; warehouses; exercises of horsemanship, fencing, training of soldiers, and the like; comedies, such whereunto the better sort of persons do resort; treasuries of jewels and robes; cabinets and rarities; and, to conclude, whatsoever is memorable in the places where they go. After all which the tutors or servants ought to make diligent inquiry. As for triumphs, masks, feasts, weddings, funerals, capital executions, and such shows, men need not to be put in mind of them; yet are they not to be neglected. If you will have a young man to put his travel into a little room, and in short time to gather much, this you must do. First as was said, he must have some entrance into the language before he goeth. Then he must have such a servant or tutor as knoweth the country, as was likewise said. Let him carry with him also some card or book describing the country where he travelleth; which will be a good key to his inquiry. Let him keep also a diary. Let him not stay long in one city or

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town; more or less as the place deserveth, but not long; nay, when he stayeth in one city or town, let him change his lodging from one end and part of the town to another; which is a great adamant of acquaintance.[1] Let him sequester himself from the company of his countrymen, and diet in such places where there is good company of the nation where he travelleth. Let him upon his removes from one place to another, procure recommendation to some person of quality residing in the place whither he removeth; that he may use his favour in those things he desireth to see or know. Thus he may abridge his travel with much profit. As for the acquaintance which is to be sought in travel; that which is most of all profitable, is acquaintance with the secretaries and employed men of ambassadors: for so in travelling in one country he shall suck the experience of many. Let him also see and visit eminent persons in all kinds, which are of great name abroad; that he may be able to tell how the life agreeth with the fame.[2] For quarrels, they are with care and discretion to be avoided. They are commonly for mistresses, healths, place, and words. And let a man beware how he keepeth company with choleric and quarrelsome persons; for they will engage him into their own quarrels. When a traveller returneth home, let him not leave the countries where he hath travelled altogether behind him; but maintain a correspondence by letters with those of his acquaintance which are of most worth. And let his travel appear rather in his discourse than in his apparel or

[1] *nam et hoc certe magnes est attrahendi familiaritates et consuetudines hominum complurium.*

[2] *quomodo os, vultus, et corporis lineamenta et motus, respondeant famæ.*

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gesture; and in his discourse let him be rather advised in his answers, than forward to tell stories; and let it appear that he doth not change his country manners for those of foreign parts; but only prick in some flowers of that he hath learned abroad into the customs of his own country.

XIX. Of Empire.

It is a miserable state of mind to have few things to desire, and many things to fear; and yet that commonly is the case of kings; who, being at the highest, want matter of desire, which makes their minds more languishing; and have many representations of perils and shadows, which makes their minds the less clear. And this is one reason also of that effect which the Scripture speaketh of, *That the king's heart is inscrutable.* For multitude of jealousies, and lack of some predominant desire that should marshal and put in order all the rest, maketh any man's heart hard to find or sound. Hence it comes likewise, that princes many times make themselves desires, and set their hearts upon toys; sometimes upon a building; sometimes upon erecting of an order; sometimes upon the advancing of a person; sometimes upon obtaining excellency in some art or feat of the hand; as Nero for playing on the harp, Domitian for certainty of the hand with the arrow, Commodus for playing at fence, Caracalla for driving chariots, and the like. This seemeth incredible unto those that know not the principle *that the mind of man is more cheered and refreshed*

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by profiting[1] *in small things, than by standing at a stay in great.* We see also that kings that have been fortunate conquerors in their first years, it being not possible for them to go forward infinitely, but that they must have some check or arrest in their fortunes, turn in their latter years to be superstitious and melancholy; as did Alexander the Great; Dioclesian; and in our memory, Charles the Fifth; and others: for he that is used to go forward, and findeth a stop, falleth out of his own favour, and is not the thing he was.

To speak now of the true temper of empire; it is a thing rare and hard to keep; for both temper and distemper consist of contraries. But it is one thing to mingle contraries, another to interchange them. The answer of Apollonius to Vespasian is full of excellent instruction. Vespasian asked him, *what was Nero's overthrow?* He answered, *Nero could touch and tune the harp well; but in government sometimes he used to wind the pins too high, sometimes to let them down too low.* And certain it is that nothing destroyeth authority so much as the unequal[2] and untimely interchange of power pressed too far, and relaxed too much.

This is true, that the wisdom of all these latter times in princes' affairs is rather fine deliveries and shiftings of dangers and mischiefs when they are near, than solid and grounded courses to keep them aloof. But this is but to try masteries with fortune. And let men beware how they neglect and suffer matter of trouble to be prepared; for no man can forbid the spark, nor tell whence it may come. The difficulties in princes' business are many and great; but the greatest difficulty

[1] *progrediendo.*
[2] *inæqualem et quasi subsultoriam.*

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is often in their own mind. For it is common with princes (saith Tacitus)[1] to will contradictories, *Sunt plerumque regum voluntates vehementes, et inter se contrariæ:* [Their desires are commonly vehement and incompatible one with another.] For it is the solecism of power, to think to command the end, and yet not to endure the mean.

Kings have to deal with their neighbours, their wives, their children, their prelates or clergy, their nobles, their second-nobles or gentlemen, their merchants, their commons, and their men of war; and from all these arise dangers, if care and circumspection be not used.

First for their neighbours; there can no general rule be given (the occasions are so variable,) save one, which ever holdeth; which is, that princes do keep due sentinel, that none of their neighbours do overgrow so (by increase of territory, by embracing of trade,[2] by approaches, or the like), as they become more able to annoy them than they were. And this is generally the work of standing counsels to foresee and to hinder it. During that triumvirate of kings, King Henry the Eighth of England, Francis the First King of France, and Charles the Fifth Emperor, there was such a watch kept, that none of the three could win a palm of ground, but the other two would straightways balance it, either by confederation, or, if need were, by a war; and would not in any wise take up peace at interest. And the like was done by that league (which Guicciardine saith was the security of Italy) made between Ferdinando King of Naples,

[1] Not Tacitus, but Sallust. *Bell. Jug.* 113.
[2] *commercium ad se attrahendo.*

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Lorenzius Medices, and Ludovicus Sforza, potentates, the one of Florence, the other of Milan. Neither is the opinion of some of the schoolmen to be received, *that a war cannot justly be made but upon a precedent injury or provocation.* For there is no question but a just fear of an imminent danger, though there be no blow given, is a lawful cause of a war.

For their wives; there are cruel examples of them. Livia is infamed for the poisoning of her husband; Roxalana, Solyman's wife, was the destruction of that renowned prince Sultan Mustapha, and otherwise troubled his house and succession; Edward the Second of England his queen had the principal hand in the deposing and murther of her husband. This kind of danger is then to be feared chiefly, when the wives have plots for the raising of their own children; or else that they be advoutresses.

For their children; the tragedies likewise of dangers from them have been many. And generally, the entering of fathers into suspicion of their children hath been ever unfortunate. The destruction of Mustapha (that we named before) was so fatal to Solyman's line, as the succession of the Turks from Solyman until this day is suspected to be untrue, and of strange blood; for that Selymus the Second was thought to be suppositious. The destruction of Crispus, a young prince of rare towardness, by Constantinus the Great, his father, was in like manner fatal to his house; for both Constantinus and Constance, his sons, died violent deaths; and Constantius, his other son, did little better; who died indeed of sickness, but after that Julianus had taken arms against him. The destruction of Demetrius, son to Philip the Second of Macedon,

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turned upon the father, who died of repentance. And many like examples there are; but few or none where the fathers had good by such distrust; except it were where the sons were up in open arms against them; as was Selymus the First against Bajazet; and the three sons of Henry the Second, King of England.

For their prelates; when they are proud and great, there is also danger from them; as it was in the times of Anselmus and Thomas Becket, Archbishops of Canterbury; who with their crosiers did almost try it with the king's sword; and yet they had to deal with stout and haughty kings; William Rufus, Henry the First, and Henry the Second. The danger is not from that state, but where it hath a dependance of foreign authority; or where the churchmen come in and are elected, not by the collation of the king, or particular patrons, but by the people.[1]

For their nobles; to keep them at a distance, it is not amiss;[2] but to depress them, may make a king more absolute, but less safe; and less able to perform any thing that he desires. I have noted it in my History of King Henry the Seventh of England, who depressed his nobility; whereupon it came to pass that his times were full of difficulties and troubles; for the nobility, though they continued loyal unto him, yet did they not co-operate with him in his business. So that in effect he was fain to do all things himself.

For their second-nobles; there is not much danger

[1] *At periculum hujusmodi a Prælatis non est magnopere pertimescendum, nisi ubi Clerus ab auctoritate aut jurisdictione principatus externi pendet; aut etiam ubi Ecclesiastici eliguntur a populo, non autem a Rege vel patronis Ecclesiarum.*

[2] *Sunt illi certe cohibendi, et tamquam in justâ distantiâ a solio regali continendi.*

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from them, being a body dispersed. They may sometimes discourse high, but that doth little hurt; besides, they are a counterpoise to the higher nobility, that they grow not too potent;[1] and, lastly, being the most immediate in authority with the common people, they do best temper popular commotions.

For their merchants; they are *vena porta*;[2] and if they flourish not, a kingdom may have good limbs, but will have empty veins, and nourish little. Taxes and imposts upon them do seldom good to the king's revenue; for that that he wins in the hundred he leeseth in the shire; the particular rates being increased, but the total bulk of trading rather decreased.

For their commons; there is little danger from them, except it be where they have great and potent heads; or where you meddle with the point of religion, or their customs, or means of life.[3]

[1] *Quinimo fovendi sunt, tanquam qui potentiam nobilitatis superioris optime temperent, ne immodice excrescat.*

[2] Upon this phrase, which recurs two or three times in Bacon (see for instance the History of Henry VII. p. 259.; "being a king that loved wealth and treasure, he could not endure to have trade sick, nor any obstruction to continue *in the gate-vein, which disperseth that blood*,") I am indebted to Mr. Ellis for the following characteristic note. "The metaphor," he writes, "is historically curious; for no one would have used it since the discovery of the circulation of the blood and of the lacteals. But in Bacon's time it was supposed that the chyle was taken up by the veins which converge to the *vena porta*. The latter immediately divides into branches, and ultimately into four ramifications, which are distributed throughout the substance of the liver, so that it has been compared to the trunk of a tree giving off roots at one extremity and branches at the other. Bacon's meaning therefore is, that commerce concentrates the resources of a country in order to their redistribution. The *heart*, which receives blood from all parts of the body and brings it into contact with the external air, and then redistributes it everywhere, would I think have taken the place of the *vena porta*, after Harvey's discovery had become known; especially as the latter is a mere conduit, and not a source of motion."

[3] *vel in consuetudinibus antiquis, vel in gravaminibus tributorum, vel in aliis quæ victum eorum decurtant.*

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For their men of war; it is a dangerous state where they live and remain in a body,[1] and are used to donatives; whereof we see examples in the janizaries, and pretorian bands of Rome; but trainings of men, and arming them[2] in several places, and under several commanders, and without donatives, are things of defence, and no danger.

Princes are like to heavenly bodies, which cause good or evil times; and which have much veneration, but no rest. All precepts concerning kings are in effect comprehended in those two remembrances; *memento quod es homo;* and *memento quod es Deus*, or *vice Dei;* [Remember that you are a man; and remember that you are a God, or God's lieutenant:] the one bridleth their power, and the other their will.

XX. Of Counsel.

The greatest trust between man and man is the trust of giving counsel. For in other confidences men commit the parts of life; their lands, their goods, their child,[3] their credit, some particular affair; but to such as they make their counsellors, they commit the whole: by how much the more they are obliged to all faith and integrity. The wisest princes need not think it any diminution to their greatness, or derogation to their sufficiency, to rely upon counsel.[4] God himself is not without, but hath made it one of the great names of his blessed Son; *The Counsellor*. Salomon hath pro-

[1] *si in corpus unum cogantur, vel exercitûs vel præsidiorum.*
[2] *militum conscriptio et ad arma tractanda instructio.*
[3] So edd. 1612 and 1625. Ed. 1639 has *children.*
[4] *si consilio virorum selectorum utantur.*

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nounced that *in counsel is stability*. Things will have their first or second agitation: if they be not tossed upon the arguments of counsel, they will be tossed upon the waves of fortune; and be full of inconstancy, doing and undoing, like the reeling of a drunken man. Salomon's son found the force of counsel, as his father saw the necessity of it. For the beloved kingdom of God was first rent and broken by ill counsel; upon which counsel there are set for our instruction the two marks whereby bad counsel is for ever best discerned; that it was young counsel, for the persons; and violent counsel, for the matter.

The ancient times do set forth in figure both the incorporation and inseparable conjunction of counsel with kings, and the wise and politic use of counsel by kings: the one, in that they say Jupiter did marry Metis, which signifieth counsel; whereby they intend that Sovereignty is married to Counsel: the other in that which followeth, which was thus: They say, after Jupiter was married to Metis, she conceived by him and was with child, but Jupiter suffered her not to stay till she brought forth, but eat her up; whereby he became himself with child, and was delivered of Pallas armed, out of his head. Which monstrous fable containeth a secret of empire; how kings are to make use of their counsel of state. That first they ought to refer matters unto them, which is the first begetting or impregnation; but when they are elaborate, moulded, and shaped in the womb of their counsel, and grow ripe and ready to be brought forth, that then they suffer not their counsel to go through with the resolution and direction, as if it depended on them; but take the matter back into their own hands, and

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make it appear to the world that the decrees and final directions (which, because they come forth with prudence and power, are resembled to Pallas armed) proceeded from themselves; and not only from their authority, but (the more to add reputation to themselves) from their head and device.

Let us now speak of the inconveniences of counsel, and of the remedies. The inconveniences that have been noted in calling and using counsel, are three. First, the revealing of affairs, whereby they become less secret. Secondly, the weakening of the authority of princes, as if they were less of themselves.[1] Thirdly, the danger of being unfaithfully counselled, and more for the good of them that counsel than of him that is counselled. For which inconveniences, the doctrine of Italy,[2] and practice of France, in some kings' times, hath introduced *cabinet* counsels; a remedy worse than the disease.[3]

As to secrecy; princes are not bound to communicate all matters with all counsellors; but may extract and select. Neither is it necessary that he that consulteth what he should do, should declare what he will do. But let princes beware that the unsecreting of their affairs comes not from themselves. And as for

[1] *ac si minus ex se penderent.*

[2] *doctrina quorundam ex Italis.* The Italian translation has *l' uso d' Italia e di Francia.*

[3] The sentence ends here in both the printed editions. But in the manuscript (of which an account will be given in the Appendix, and which appears to have been written a little earlier than 1612), the following clause is added "which hath turned Metis the wife to Metis the mistress; that is counsels of state, to which princes are married, to counsels of favoured persons, recommended chiefly by flattery and affection." *Cabinet Counsels* therefore (translated *concilia interiora quæ vulgo vocantur* Cabinetti) are not to be understood in the modern sense. What we call the Cabinet answers exactly to what Bacon calls a Counsel of State.

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cabinet counsels, it may be their motto, *plenus rimarum sum:* [they are full of leaks:] one futile person that maketh it his glory to tell, will do more hurt than many that know it their duty to conceal. It is true there be some affairs which require extreme secrecy, which will hardly go beyond one or two persons besides the king: neither are those counsels unprosperous; for, besides the secrecy, they commonly go on constantly in one spirit of direction, without distraction. But then it must be a prudent king, such as is able to grind with a hand-mill;[1] and those inward counsellors had need also be wise men, and especially true and trusty to the king's ends; as it was with King Henry the Seventh of England, who in his greatest business imparted himself to none, except it were to Morton and Fox.

For weakening of authority; the fable[2] showeth the remedy. Nay, the majesty of kings is rather exalted than diminished when they are in the chair of counsel; neither was there ever prince bereaved of his dependances[3] by his counsel; except where there hath been either an over-greatness in one counsellor or an over-strict combination in divers; which are things soon found and holpen.

For the last inconvenience, that men will counsel with an eye to themselves; certainly, *non inveniet fidem super terram* [he will not find faith on the earth,] is meant of the nature of times, and not of all particular persons. There be that are in nature faithful, and sincere, and plain, and direct; not crafty and involved; let

[1] *si rex prudens sit, et proprio marte validus.*
[2] That is, the fable of Jupiter and Metis.
[3] *auctoritate suâ imminutum.*

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princes, above all, draw to themselves such natures. Besides, counsellors are not commonly so united, but that one counsellor keepeth sentinel over another; so that if any do counsel out of faction or private ends, it commonly comes to the king's ear. But the best remedy is, if princes know their counsellors, as well as their counsellors know them:

Principis est virtus maxima nosse suos.

And on the other side, counsellors should not be too speculative into their sovereign's person. The true composition of a counsellor is rather to be skilful in their master's business, than in his nature; for then he is like to advise him, and not feed his humour. It is of singular use to princes if they take the opinions of their counsel both separately and together. For private opinion is more free; but opinion before others is more reverent.[1] In private, men are more bold in their own humours; and in consort, men are more obnoxious to others' humours; therefore it is good to take both; and of the inferior sort rather in private, to preserve freedom; of the greater rather in consort, to preserve respect.[2] It is in vain for princes to take counsel concerning matters, if they take no counsel likewise concerning persons; for all matters are as dead images; and the life of the execution of affairs resteth in the good choice of persons. Neither is it enough to consult concerning persons *secundum genera*, as in an idea, or mathematical description, what the kind and character of the person should be; for the greatest errors are committed, and the most judgment is shown,

[1] *gravior.*
[2] *ut modestius sententiam ferant.*

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in the choice of individuals. It was truly said, *optimi consiliarii mortui:* [the best counsellors are the dead:] books will speak plain when counsellors blanch. Therefore it is good to be conversant in them, specially the books of such as themselves have been actors upon the stage.[1]

The counsels at this day in most places are but familiar meetings, where matters are rather talked on than debated. And they run too swift to the order or act of counsel. It were better that in causes of weight, the matter were propounded one day and not spoken to till the next day; *in nocte consilium:* [night is the season for counsel.] So was it done in the Commission of Union between England and Scotland; which was a grave and orderly assembly. I commend set days for petitions; for both it gives the suitors more certainty for their attendance, and it frees the meetings for matters of estate, that they may *hoc agere.* In choice of committees for ripening business for the counsel, it is better to choose indifferent persons, than to make an indifferency by putting in those that are strong on both sides. I commend also standing commissions; as for trade, for treasure, for war, for suits, for some provinces; for where there be divers particular counsels and but one counsel of estate (as it is in Spain), they are, in effect, no more than standing commissions: save that they have greater authority. Let such as are to inform counsels out of their particular professions, (as lawyers, seamen, mintmen, and the like,) be first heard before committees; and then, as occasion serves, before the counsel. And let them not come in multitudes, or in a tribunitious manner;

[1] *qui et ipsi gubernacula rerum tractarunt.*

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for that is to clamour counsels, not to inform them. A long table and a square table, or seats about the walls, seem things of form, but are things of substance; for at a long table a few at the upper end, in effect, sway all the business; but in the other form there is more use of the counsellors' opinions that sit lower. A king, when he presides in counsel, let him beware how he opens his own inclination too much in that which he propoundeth; for else counsellors will but take the wind of him,[1] and instead of giving free counsel, sing him a song of *placebo*.

XXI. Of Delays.

Fortune is like the market; where many times, if you can stay a little, the price will fall. And again, it is sometimes like Sibylla's offer; which at first offereth the commodity at full, then consumeth part and part, and still holdeth up the price. For occasion (as it is in the common verse) *turneth a bald noddle, after she hath presented her locks in front, and no hold taken;* or at least turneth the handle of the bottle first to be received, and after the belly, which is hard to clasp. There is surely no greater wisdom than well to time the beginnings and onsets of things.[2] Dangers are no more light, if they once seem light; and more dangers have deceived men than forced them. Nay, it were better to meet some dangers half way, though they come nothing near, than to keep too long a watch upon their approaches; for if a man watch too long, it is

[1] *se ad mutum ejus applicabunt.*
[2] *quam in tempestivis negotiorum auspiciis principiisque eligendis.*

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odds he will fall asleep. On the other side, to be deceived with too long shadows (as some have been when the moon was low and shone on their enemies' back), and so to shoot off before the time; or to teach dangers to come on, by over early buckling towards them;[1] is another extreme. The ripeness or unripeness of the occasion (as we said) must ever be well weighed; and generally it is good to commit the beginnings of all great actions to Argos with his hundred eyes, and the ends to Briareus with his hundred hands; first to watch, and then to speed. For the helmet of Pluto, which maketh the politic man go invisible, is secrecy in the counsel and celerity in the execution. For when things are once come to the execution, there is no secrecy comparable to celerity; like the motion of a bullet in the air, which flieth so swift as it outruns the eye.

XXII. Of Cunning.

We take Cunning for a sinister or crooked wisdom. And certainly there is a great difference between a cunning man and a wise man; not only in point of honesty, but in point of ability. There be that can pack the cards, and yet cannot play well; so there are some that are good in canvasses and factions, that are otherwise weak men. Again, it is one thing to understand persons, and another thing to understand matters; for many are perfect in men's humours, that are not greatly capable of the real part of business; which is the constitution[2] of one that hath studied men more

[1] *pericula præmature obviando accersere.*
[2] *constitutio ipsissima.*

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than books. Such men are fitter for practice than for counsel; and they are good but in their own alley: turn them to new men, and they have lost their aim; so as the old rule to know a fool from a wise man, *Mitte ambos nudos ad ignotos, et videbis*, [Send them both naked to those they know not,] doth scarce hold for them. And because these cunning men are like haberdashers of small wares, it is not amiss to set forth their shop.

It is a point of cunning, to wait upon him with whom you speak, with your eye;[1] as the Jesuits give it in precept: for there be many wise men that have secret hearts and transparent countenances. Yet this would be done with a demure abasing of your eye sometimes, as the Jesuits also do use.

Another is, that when you have anything to obtain of present despatch, you entertain and amuse the party with whom you deal with some other discourse; that he be not too much awake to make objections. I knew a counsellor and secretary, that never came to Queen Elizabeth of England with bills to sign, but he would always first put her into some discourse of estate, that she mought the less mind the bills.

The like surprise may be made by moving things when the party is in haste, and cannot stay to consider advisedly of that is moved.

If a man would cross a business that he doubts some other would handsomely and effectually move, let him pretend to wish it well, and move it himself in such sort as may foil it.

The breaking off in the midst of that one was about to say, as if he took himself up, breeds a

[1] *ut quis vultum ejus cum quo colloquitur limatius observet.*

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greater appetite in him with whom you confer to know more.

And because it works better when anything seemeth to be gotten from you by question, than if you offer it of yourself, you may lay a bait for a question, by showing another visage and countenance than you are wont; to the end to give occasion for the party to ask what the matter is of the change? As Nehemias did; *And I had not before that time been sad before the king.*

In things that are tender and unpleasing, it is good to break the ice by some whose words are of less weight, and to reserve the more weighty voice to come in as by chance, so that he may be asked the question upon the other's speech; as Narcissus did, in relating to Claudius the marriage of Messalina and Silius.

In things that a man would not be seen in himself, it is a point of cunning to borrow the name of the world; as to say, *The world says*, or *There is a speech abroad.*

I knew one that, when he wrote a letter, he would put that which was most material in the postscript, as if it had been a bye-matter.

I knew another that, when he came to have speech, he would pass over that that he intended most; and go forth, and come back again, and speak of it as of a thing that he had almost forgot.

Some procure themselves to be surprised at such times as it is like the party that they work upon will suddenly come upon them; and to be found with a letter in their hand, or doing somewhat which they are not accustomed; to the end they may be apposed[1] of those things which of themselves they are desirous to utter.

[1] *ut interrogentur de iis rebus.*

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It is a point of cunning, to let fall those words in a man's own name, which he would have another man learn and use, and thereupon take advantage.[1] I knew two that were competitors for the secretary's place in Queen Elizabeth's time, and yet kept good quarter between themselves;[2] and would confer one with another upon the business; and the one of them said, That to be a secretary *in the declination of a monarchy* was a ticklish thing, and that he did not affect it: the other straight caught up those words, and discoursed with divers of his friends, that he had no reason to desire to be secretary in the declination of a monarchy. The first man took hold of it, and found means it was told the Queen; who hearing of *a declination of a monarchy*, took it so ill,[3] as she would never after hear of the other's suit.

There is a cunning, which we in England call[4] *The turning of the cat in the pan;* which is, when that which a man says to another, he lays it as if another had said it to him. And to say truth, it is not easy, when such a matter passed between two, to make it appear from which of them it first moved and began.

It is a way that some men have, to glance and dart at others by justifying themselves by negatives; as to say, *This I do not;* as Tigellinus did towards Burrhus, *Se non diversas spes, sed incolumitatem imperatoris simpliciter spectare:* [That he had not several hopes to

[1] *ut inde alterum irretiat et subruat.*

[2] *qui tamen se invicem amice tractabant.*

[3] *eaque verba ut ad Reginæ aures pervenirent, tanquam scilicet ab altero prolata, curavit; quæ indignata circa illa verba, in Declinatione Monarchiæ, cum ipsa se vigentem reputaret,* &c.

[4] *quod Anglico proverbio* Felem in aheno vertere *satis absurde dicitur.*

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rest on, but looked simply to the safety of the Emperor.]

Some have in readiness so many tales and stories, as there is nothing they would insinuate, but they can wrap it into a tale; which serveth both to keep themselves more in guard, and to make others carry it with more pleasure.[1]

It is a good point of cunning, for a man to shape the answer he would have in his own words and propositions; for it makes the other party stick the less.

It is strange how long some men will lie in wait to speak somewhat they desire to say; and how far about they will fetch; and how many other matters they will beat over, to come near it. It is a thing of great patience, but yet of much use.

A sudden, bold, and unexpected question doth many times surprise a man, and lay him open. Like to him that, having changed his name and walking in Paul's, another suddenly came behind him and called him by his true name, whereat straightways he looked back.

But these small wares and petty points of cunning are infinite; and it were a good deed to make a list of them;[2] for that nothing doth more hurt in a state than that cunning men pass for wise.

But certainly some there are that know the resorts and falls of business, that cannot sink into the main of it;[3] like a house that hath convenient stairs and entries, but never a fair room. Therefore you shall see them find out pretty looses in the conclusion, but are

[1] *unde et se magis in tuto continent, quasi nihil diserte affirmantes, et rem ipsam majore cum voluptate spargi efficiunt.*

[2] *Si quis eorum conficeret uberiorem catalogum.*

[3] *nonnullos negotiorum periodos et pausas nosse, qui in ipsorum viscera et interiora penetrare nequeunt.*

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no ways able to examine or debate matters. And yet commonly they take advantage of their inability, and would be thought wits of direction.[1] Some build rather upon the abusing of others, and (as we now say) *putting tricks upon them*, than upon soundness of their own proceedings. But Salomon saith, *Prudens advertit ad gressus suos: stultus divertit ad dolos:* [The wise man taketh heed to his steps: the fool turneth aside to deceits.]

XXIII. Of Wisdom for a Man's Self.

An ant is a wise creature for itself, but it is a shrewd thing in an orchard or garden. And certainly men that are great lovers of themselves waste the public. Divide with reason between self-love and society; and be so true to thyself, as thou be not false to others; specially to thy king and country. It is a poor centre of a man's actions, *himself*. It is right earth. For that only stands fast upon his own centre; whereas all things that have affinity with the heavens, move upon the centre of another, which they benefit. The referring of all to a man's self is more tolerable in a sovereign prince; because themselves are not only themselves, but their good and evil is at the peril of the public fortune. But it is a desperate evil in a servant to a prince, or a citizen in a republic. For whatsoever affairs pass such a man's hands, he crooketh them to his own ends; which must needs be often eccentric to the ends of his

[1] *Itaque tales videbis in conclusionibus deliberationum commodos quosdam exitus reperire; ad rem vero examinandam et disceptandam nullo modo sufficere. Attamen sæpenumero ex hac re existimationem quandam aucupantur; veluti ingenia quæ ad decernendum potius quam ad disputandum sint aptiora.*

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master or state. Therefore let princes, or states, choose such servants as have not this mark; except they mean their service should be made but the accessary. That which maketh the effect more pernicious is that all proportion is lost. It were disproportion enough for the servant's good to be preferred before the master's; but yet it is a greater extreme, when a little good of the servant shall carry things against a great good of the master's. And yet that is the case of bad officers, treasurers, ambassadors, generals, and other false and corrupt servants; which set a bias upon their bowl, of their own petty ends and envies, to the overthrow of their master's great and important affairs. And for the most part, the good such servants receive is after the model of their own fortune; but the hurt they sell for that good is after the model of their master's fortune. And certainly it is the nature of extreme self-lovers, as they will set an house on fire, and it were but to roast their eggs; and yet these men many times hold credit with their masters, because their study is but to please them and profit themselves; and for either respect they will abandon the good of their affairs.

Wisdom for a man's self is, in many branches thereof, a depraved thing. It is the wisdom of rats, that will be sure to leave a house somewhat before it fall. It is the wisdom of the fox, that thrusts out the badger, who digged and made room for him. It is the wisdom of crocodiles, that shed tears when they would devour. But that which is specially to be noted is, that those which (as Cicero says of Pompey) are *sui amantes, sine rivali*, [lovers of themselves without rival,] are many times unfortunate. And whereas they have all

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their times sacrificed to themselves, they become in the end themselves sacrifices to the inconstancy of fortune; whose wings they thought by their self-wisdom to have pinioned.

XXIV. Of Innovations.

As the births of living creatures at first are ill-shapen, so are all Innovations, which are the births of time. Yet notwithstanding, as those that first bring honour into their family are commonly more worthy than most that succeed, so the first precedent (if it be good) is seldom attained by imitation.[1] For Ill, to man's nature as it stands perverted, hath a natural motion, strongest in continuance; but Good, as a forced motion, strongest at first. Surely every medicine is an innovation; and he that will not apply new remedies must expect new evils; for time is the greatest innovator; and if time of course alter things to the worse, and wisdom and counsel shall not alter them to the better, what shall be the end? It is true, that what is settled by custom, though it be not good, yet at least it is fit;[2] and those things which have long gone together, are as it were confederate within themselves; whereas new things piece not so well;[3] but though they help by their utility, yet they trouble by their inconformity. Besides, they are like strangers; more admired and less favoured. All this is true, if time stood still; which contrariwise moveth so round, that a

[1] *Ita rerum exemplaria et primordia (quando feliciter jacta sunt) imitationem ætatis sequentis ut plurimum superant.*

[2] *aptum esse tamen temporibus.*

[3] *ubi contra, nova veteribus non usquequaque tam concinne cohæreant.*

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froward retention of custom is as turbulent a thing as an innovation; and they that reverence too much old times, are but a scorn to the new. It were good therefore that men in their innovations would follow the example of time itself; which indeed innovateth greatly, but quietly, and by degrees scarce to be perceived. For otherwise, whatsoever is new is unlooked for; and ever it mends some, and pairs other; and he that is holpen takes it for a fortune, and thanks the time; and he that is hurt, for a wrong, and imputeth it to the author. It is good also not to try experiments in states,[1] except the necessity be urgent, or the utility evident; and well to beware that it be the reformation that draweth on the change, and not the desire of change that pretendeth the reformation. And lastly, that the novelty, though it be not rejected, yet be held for a suspect; and, as the Scripture saith, *that we make a stand upon the ancient way, and then look about us, and discover what is the straight and right way, and so to walk in it.*

XXV. Of Dispatch.

Affected dispatch[2] is one of the most dangerous things to business that can be. It is like that which the physicians call *predigestion*, or hasty digestion; which is sure to fill the body full of crudities and secret seeds of diseases. Therefore measure not dispatch by the times of sitting, but by the advancement of the business. And as in races it is not the large stride or

[1] *in corporibus politicis medendis.*
[2] *celeritas nimia et affectata.*

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high lift that makes the speed; so in business, the keeping close to the matter, and not taking of it too much at once, procureth dispatch. It is the care of some only to come off speedily[1] for the time; or to contrive some false periods of business, because they may seem men of dispatch. But it is one thing to abbreviate by contracting, another by cutting off. And business so handled at several sittings or meetings goeth commonly backward and forward in an unsteady manner. I knew a wise man that had it for a by-word, when he saw men hasten to a conclusion, *Stay a little, that we may make an end the sooner.*

On the other side, true dispatch is a rich thing. For time is the measure of business, as money is of wares; and business is bought at a dear hand where there is small dispatch. The Spartans and Spaniards have been noted to be of small dispatch; *Mi venga la muerte de Spagna; Let my death come from Spain;* for then it will be sure to be long in coming.

Give good hearing to those that give the first information in business; and rather direct them in the beginning, than interrupt them in the continuance of their speeches; for he that is put out of his own order will go forward and backward, and be more tedious while he waits upon his memory, than he could have been if he had gone on in his own course. But sometimes it is seen that the moderator is more troublesome than the actor.

Iterations are commonly loss of time. But there is no such gain of time as to iterate often the state of the question; for it chaseth away many a frivolous speech as it is coming forth. Long and curious speeches are

[1] *ut brevi tempore multum confecisse videantur.*

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as fit for dispatch, as a robe or mantle with a long train is for race. Prefaces and passages,[1] and excusations, and other speeches of reference to the person, are great wastes of time; and though they seem to proceed of modesty, they are bravery.[2] Yet beware of being too material[3] when there is any impediment or obstruction in men's wills; for pre-occupation of mind ever requireth preface of speech; like a fomentation to make the unguent enter.

Above all things, order, and distribution, and singling out of parts, is the life of dispatch; so as the distribution be not too subtle: for he that doth not divide will never enter well into business; and he that divideth too much will never come out of it clearly. To choose time is to save time; and an unseasonable motion is but beating the air. There be three parts of business; the preparation, the debate or examination, and the perfection. Whereof, if you look for dispatch, let the middle only be the work of many, and the first and last the work of few. The proceeding upon somewhat conceived in writing doth for the most part facilitate dispatch: for though it should be wholly rejected, yet that negative is more pregnant of direction[4] than an indefinite; as ashes are more generative than dust.

[1] *transitiones bellæ.*

[2] *gloriolæ captatrices.*

[3] That is, of keeping too close to the matter. *Cave ne in rem ipsam ab initio descendas.*

[4] *plus valebit ad consilia educenda.*

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XXVI. Of Seeming Wise.

It hath been an opinion, that the French are wiser than they seem, and the Spaniards seem wiser than they are. But howsoever it be between nations, certainly it is so between man and man. For as the Apostle saith of godliness, *Having a shew of godliness, but denying the power thereof;* so certainly there are in point of wisdom and sufficiency, that do nothing or little very solemnly:[1] *magno conatu nugas.* It is a ridiculous thing and fit for a satire to persons of judgment, to see what shifts these formalists have, and what prospectives[2] to make *superficies* to seem body that hath depth and bulk. Some are so close and reserved, as they will not shew their wares but by a dark light; and seem always to keep back somewhat; and when they know within themselves they speak of that they do not well know, would nevertheless seem to others to know of that which they may not well speak. Some help themselves with countenance and gesture, and are wise by signs; as Cicero saith of Piso, that when he answered him, he fetched one of his brows up to his forehead, and bent the other down to his chin; *Respondes, altero ad frontem sublato, altero ad mentum depresso supercilio, crudelitatem tibi non placere.* Some think to bear it[3] by speaking a great word, and being peremptory; and go on, and take by admittance that which they cannot make good.[4] Some, whatsoever is beyond their reach, will seem to despise or make light of it as

[1] *ita certe inveniuntur nonnulli qui nugantur solemniter, quum prudentes minime sint.*

[2] *et quali utantur arte quasi prospectivâ.*

[3] *se valere putant.*

[4] *itaque nihil morantur, et pro admissis accipiunt quæ probare non possunt.*

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impertinent or curious; and so would have their ignorance seem judgment. Some are never without a difference, and commonly by amusing men with a subtilty, blanch the matter;[1] of whom A. Gellius saith, *Hominem delirum, qui verborum minutiis rerum frangit pondera:* [a trifler, that with verbal points and niceties breaks up the mass of matter]. Of which kind also, Plato in his Protagoras bringeth in Prodicus in scorn, and maketh him make a speech that consisteth of distinctions from the beginning to the end. Generally, such men in all deliberations find ease to be of the negative side, and affect a credit to object and foretell difficulties; for when propositions are denied, there is an end of them; but if they be allowed, it requireth a new work; which false point of wisdom is the bane of business. To conclude, there is no decaying merchant, or inward beggar,[2] hath so many tricks to uphold the credit of their wealth, as these empty persons have to maintain the credit of their sufficiency. Seeming wise men may make shift to get opinion;[3] but let no man choose them for employment; for certainly you were better take for business a man somewhat absurd than over-formal.[4]

XXVII. Of Friendship.

It had been hard for him that spake it to have put more truth and untruth together in few words, than in

[1] *rem prætervehuntur.*

[2] *decoctor rei familiaris occultus.*

[3] *Certe homines hac prudentia præditi opinionem vulgi facile aucupari possunt.*

[4] *quam hujusmodi formalistam fastidiosum.*

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that speech, *Whosoever is delighted in solitude is either a wild beast or a god.* For it is most true that a natural and secret hatred and aversation towards society in any man, hath somewhat of the savage beast; but it is most untrue that it should have any character at all of the divine nature; except it proceed, not out of a pleasure in solitude, but out of a love and desire to sequester a man's self for a higher conversation: such as is found to have been falsely and feignedly in some of the heathen; as Epimenides the Candian, Numa the Roman, Empedocles the Sicilian, and Apollonius of Tyana; and truly and really in divers of the ancient hermits and holy fathers of the church. But little do men perceive what solitude is, and how far it extendeth. For a crowd is not company; and faces are but a gallery of pictures; and talk but a tinkling cymbal, where there is no love. The Latin adage meeteth with it a little: *Magna civitas, magna solitudo;* [a great town is a great solitude;] because in a great town friends are scattered; so that there is not that fellowship, for the most part, which is in less neighbourhoods. But we may go further, and affirm most truly that it is a mere and miserable solitude to want true friends; without which the world is but a wilderness; and even in this sense also of solitude, whosoever in the frame of his nature and affections is unfit for friendship, he taketh it of the beast, and not from humanity.

A principal fruit of friendship is the ease and discharge of the fulness and swellings of the heart, which passions of all kinds do cause and induce. We know diseases of stoppings and suffocations are the most dangerous in the body; and it is not much otherwise in the mind; you may take sarza to open the liver, steel

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to open the spleen, flower[1] of sulphur for the lungs, castoreum for the brain; but no receipt openeth the heart, but a true friend; to whom you may impart griefs, joys, fears, hopes, suspicions, counsels, and whatsoever lieth upon the heart to oppress it, in a kind of civil shrift or confession.

It is a strange thing to observe how high a rate great kings and monarchs do set upon this fruit of friendship whereof we speak: so great, as they purchase it many times at the hazard of their own safety and greatness. For princes, in regard of the distance of their fortune from that of their subjects and servants, cannot gather this fruit, except (to make themselves capable thereof) they raise some persons to be as it were companions and almost equals to themselves, which many times sorteth to inconvenience. The modern languages give unto such persons the name of favourites, or privadoes; as if it were matter of grace, or conversation. But the Roman name attaineth the true use and cause thereof, naming them *participes curarum;* for it is that which tieth the knot. And we see plainly that this hath been done, not by weak and passionate princes only,[2] but by the wisest and most politic that ever reigned; who have oftentimes joined to themselves some of their servants; whom both themselves have called friends, and allowed others likewise to call them in the same manner; using the word which is received between private men.

L. Sylla, when he commanded Rome, raised Pompey (after surnamed the Great) to that height, that Pompey vaunted himself for Sylla's over-match. For

[1] So Ed. 1639. The original edition has *flowers*.
[2] *delicatos et imbecillis animi.*

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when he had carried the consulship for a friend of his,[1] against the pursuit of Sylla, and that Sylla did a little resent thereat, and began to speak great, Pompey turned upon him again, and in effect bade him be quiet; *for that more men adored the sun rising than the sun setting.* With Julius Cæsar, Decimus Brutus had obtained that interest, as he set him down in his testament for heir in remainder after his nephew. And this was the man that had power with him to draw him forth to his death. For when Cæsar would have discharged the senate, in regard of some ill presages, and specially a dream of Calpurnia; this man lifted him gently by the arm out of his chair, telling him he hoped he would not dismiss the senate[2] till his wife had dreamt a better dream. And it seemeth his favour was so great, as Antonius, in a letter which is recited *verbatim* in one of Cicero's Philippics, calleth him *venefica, witch;* as if he had enchanted Cæsar. Augustus raised Agrippa (though of mean birth) to that height, as when he consulted with Mæcenas about the marriage of his daughter Julia, Mæcenas took the liberty to tell him, *that he must either marry his daughter to Agrippa, or take away his life: there was no third way, he had made him so great.* With Tiberius Cæsar, Sejanus had ascended to that height,[3] as they two were termed and reckoned as a pair of friends. Tiberius in a letter to him saith, *hæc pro amicitiâ nostrâ non occultavi;* [these things, as our friendship required, I have not concealed from you;] and the whole senate dedi-

[1] Lepidus. See Plutarch in Pompey. But the occasion on which Pompey made the remark in question was Sylla's opposition to his triumph.

[2] *eum non senatum tam parvi habiturum, ut dimittere illum vellet,* &c.

[3] *Tiberius Cæsar Sejanum tantis honoribus auxit.*

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cated an altar to Friendship, as to a goddess, in respect of the great dearness of friendship between them two. The like or more was between Septimius Severus and Plautianus.[1] For he forced his eldest son to marry the daughter of Plautianus; and would often maintain Plautianus in doing affronts to his son;[2] and did write also in a letter to the senate, by these words: *I love the man so well, as I wish he may over-live me.* Now if these princes had been as a Trajan or a Marcus Aurelius, a man might have thought that this had proceeded of an abundant goodness of nature; but being men so wise, of such strength and severity of mind, and so extreme lovers of themselves, as all these were, it proveth most plainly that they found their own felicity (though as great as ever happened to mortal men) but as an half piece, except they mought have a friend to make it entire; and yet, which is more, they were princes that had wives, sons, nephews; and yet all these could not supply the comfort of friendship.

It is not to be forgotten what Comineus observeth of his first master, Duke Charles the Hardy; namely, that he would communicate his secrets with none; and least of all, those secrets which troubled him most. Whereupon he goeth on and saith that towards his latter time *that closeness did impair and a little perish his understanding.* Surely Comineus mought have made the same judgment also, if it had pleased him, of his second master Lewis the Eleventh, whose closeness was indeed his tormentor. The parable of Pythagoras is dark, but true; *Cor ne edito: Eat not the heart.*

[1] *Plantianus* in the original, and also in Ed. 1639, and in the Latin translation, in all the places.

[2] *Plantianum sæpe, etiam cum contumelia filii sui, honoravit.*

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Certainly, if a man would give it a hard phrase, those that want friends to open themselves unto are cannibals of their own hearts. But one thing is most admirable (wherewith I will conclude this first fruit of friendship), which is, that this communicating of a man's self to his friend works two contrary effects; for it redoubleth joys, and cutteth griefs in halfs. For there is no man that imparteth his joys to his friend, but he joyeth the more: and no man that imparteth his griefs to his friend, but he grieveth the less. So that it is in truth of operation upon a man's mind, of like virtue as the alchymists use to attribute to their stone for man's body; that it worketh all contrary effects, but still to the good and benefit of nature. But yet without praying in aid of alchymists, there is a manifest image of this in the ordinary course of nature. For in bodies, union strengtheneth and cherisheth any natural action; and on the other side weakeneth and dulleth any violent impression: and even so it is of minds.

The second fruit of friendship is healthful and sovereign for the understanding, as the first is for the affections. For friendship maketh indeed a fair day in the affections, from storm and tempests; but it maketh daylight in the understanding, out of darkness and confusion of thoughts. Neither is this to be understood only of faithful counsel, which a man receiveth from his friend; but before you come to that, certain it is that whosoever hath his mind fraught with many thoughts, his wits and understanding do clarify and break up, in the communicating and discoursing with another; he tosseth his thoughts more easily; he marshalleth them more orderly; he seeth how they

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look when they are turned into words: finally, he waxeth wiser than himself; and that more by an hour's discourse than by a day's meditation. It was well said by Themistocles to the king of Persia, *That speech was like cloth of Arras, opened and put abroad; whereby the imagery doth appear in figure; whereas in thoughts they lie but as in packs.* Neither is the second fruit of friendship, in opening the understanding, restrained only to such friends as are able to give a man counsel; (they indeed are best;) but even without that, a man learneth of himself, and bringeth his own thoughts to light, and whetteth his wits as against a stone, which itself cuts not. In a word, a man were better relate himself to a statua or picture, than to suffer his thoughts to pass in smother.

Add now, to make this second fruit of friendship complete, that other point which lieth more open and falleth within vulgar observation; which is faithful counsel from a friend. Heraclitus saith well in one of his enigmas, *Dry light is ever the best.* And certain it is, that the light that a man receiveth by counsel from another, is drier and purer than that which cometh from his own understanding and judgment; which is ever infused and drenched in his affections and customs. So as there is as much difference between the counsel that a friend giveth, and that a man giveth himself, as there is between the counsel of a friend and of a flatterer. For there is no such flatterer as is a man's self; and there is no such remedy against flattery of a man's self, as the liberty of a friend. Counsel is of two sorts: the one concerning manners, the other concerning business. For the first, the best preservative to keep the mind in health is the faithful admo-

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nition of a friend. The calling of a man's self to a strict account is a medicine, sometime, too piercing and corrosive. Reading good books of morality is a little flat and dead. Observing our faults in others is sometimes improper for our case.[1] But the best receipt (best, I say, to work, and best to take) is the admonition of a friend. It is a strange thing to behold what gross errors and extreme absurdities many (especially of the greater sort) do commit, for want of a friend to tell them of them; to the great damage both of their fame and fortune: for, as St. James saith, they are as men *that look sometimes into a glass, and presently forget their own shape and favour.* As for business, a man may think, if he will, that two eyes see no more than one; or that a gamester seeth always more than a looker-on; or that a man in anger is as wise as he that hath said over the four and twenty letters; or that a musket may be shot off as well upon the arm as upon a rest; and such other fond and high imaginations, to think himself all in all. But when all is done, the help of good counsel is that which setteth business straight. And if any man think that he will take counsel, but it shall be by pieces; asking counsel in one business of one man, and in another business of another man; it is well, (that is to say, better perhaps than if he asked none at all;) but he runneth two dangers: one, that he shall not be faithfully counselled; for it is a rare thing, except it be from a perfect and entire friend, to have counsel given, but such as shall be bowed and crooked to some ends which he hath that giveth it. The other, that he shall have

[1] *observatio propriorum defectuum in aliis, tanquam in speculo, aliquando, ut fit etiam in speculis, minus respondet.*

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counsel given, hurtful and unsafe, (though with good meaning,) and mixed partly of mischief and partly of remedy; even as if you would call a physician that is thought good for the cure of the disease you complain of, but is unacquainted with your body; and therefore may put you in way for a present cure, but overthroweth your health in some other kind; and so cure the disease and kill the patient. But a friend that is wholly acquainted with a man's estate will beware, by furthering any present business, how he dasheth upon other inconvenience. And therefore rest not upon scattered counsels; they will rather distract and mislead, than settle and direct.

After these two noble fruits of friendship, (peace in the affections, and support of the judgment,) followeth the last fruit; which is like the pomegranate, full of many kernels; I mean aid and bearing a part in all actions and occasions. Here the best way to represent to life the manifold use of friendship, is to cast and see how many things there are which a man cannot do himself; and then it will appear that it was a sparing speech of the ancients, to say, *that a friend is another himself;* for that a friend is far more than himself. Men have their time, and die many times in desire of some things which they principally take to heart; the bestowing of a child, the finishing of a work, or the like. If a man have a true friend, he may rest almost secure that the care of those things will continue after him. So that a man hath, as it were, two lives in his desires.[1] A man hath a body, and that body is con-

[1] *adeo ut fatum immaturum vix obsit; atque habeat quis (ut loquamur more tribulum aut firmariorum) in desideriis suis terminum non unius sed duarum vitarum.*

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fined to a place; but where friendship is, all offices of life are as it were granted to him and his deputy. For he may exercise them by his friend. How many things are there which a man cannot, with any face or comeliness, say or do himself? A man can scarce allege his own merits with modesty, much less extol them; a man cannot sometimes brook to supplicate or beg; and a number of the like. But all these things are graceful in a friend's mouth, which are blushing in a man's own. So again, a man's person hath many proper relations which he cannot put off. A man cannot speak to his son but as a father; to his wife but as a husband; to his enemy but upon terms: whereas a friend may speak as the case requires, and not as it sorteth with the person. But to enumerate these things were endless; I have given the rule, where a man cannot fitly play his own part; if he have not a friend, he may quit the stage.

XXVIII. Of Expense.

Riches are for spending, and spending for honour and good actions. Therefore extraordinary expense must be limited[1] by the worth of the occasion; for voluntary undoing may be as well for a man's country as for the kingdom of heaven. But ordinary expense ought to be limited by a man's estate; and governed with such regard, as it be within his compass; and not subject to deceit and abuse of servants; and ordered to the best shew, that the bills may be less than the estimation abroad. Certainly, if a man will keep but of

[1] *commensurandi.*

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even hand,[1] his ordinary expenses ought to be but to the half of his receipts; and if he think to wax rich, but to the third part. It is no baseness for the greatest to descend and look into their own estate. Some forbear it, not upon negligence alone, but doubting to bring themselves into melancholy, in respect they shall find it broken. But wounds cannot be cured without searching. He that cannot look into his own estate at all, had need both choose well those whom he employeth, and change them often; for new are more timorous and less subtle. He that can look into his estate but seldom, it behoveth him to turn all to certainties.[2] A man had need, if he be plentiful in some kind of expense, to be as saving again in some other. As if he be plentiful in diet, to be saving in apparel; if he be plentiful in the hall, to be saving in the stable; and the like. For he that is plentiful in expenses of all kinds will hardly be preserved from decay. In clearing of a man's estate, he may as well hurt himself in being too sudden, as in letting it run on too long. For hasty selling is commonly as disadvantageable as interest. Besides, he that clears at once will relapse; for finding himself out of straits, he will revert to his customs: but he that cleareth by degrees induceth a habit of frugality, and gaineth as well upon his mind as upon his estate. Certainly, who hath a state to repair, may not despise small things; and commonly it is less dishonourable to abridge petty charges, than to stoop to petty gettings. A man ought warily to begin charges which once begun will continue: but in matters that return not he may be more magnificent.

[1] *qui diminutionem fortunarum suarum pati nolit.*

[2] *quæ computationi subjacent, in certos reditus atque etiam sumptus vertere.*

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XXIX. Of the True Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates.

The speech of Themistocles the Athenian, which was haughty and arrogant in taking so much to himself,[1] had been a grave and wise observation and censure, applied at large to others. Desired at a feast to touch a lute, he said, *He could not fiddle, but yet he could make a small town a great city.* These words (holpen a little with a metaphor[2]) may express two differing[3] abilities in those that deal in business of estate. For if a true survey be taken of counsellors and statesmen, there may be found (though rarely) those which can make a small state great, and yet cannot fiddle: as on the other side, there will be found a great many that can fiddle very cunningly,[4] but yet are so far from being able to make a small state great, as their gift lieth the other way; to bring a great and flourishing estate to ruin and decay. And, certainly those degenerate arts and shifts, whereby many counsellors and governors gain both favour with their masters and estimation with the vulgar, deserve no better name than fiddling; being things rather pleasing for the time, and graceful to themselves only, than tending to the weal and advancement of the state which they serve. There are also (no doubt) counsellors and governors which may be held sufficient (*negotiis pares*), able to manage affairs, and to keep them from precipices and manifest inconveniences;

[1] *sibi ipsi applicatum, incivile certe fuit et inflatum.*
[2] *ad sensum politicum translata.*
[3] *multum inter se discrepantes.*
[4] *in cithara aut lyra (hoc est aulicis tricis) miri artifices.*

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which nevertheless are far from the ability to raise and amplify an estate in power, means, and fortune. But be the workmen what they may be, let us speak of the work; that is, the true Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates, and the means thereof. An argument fit for great and mighty princes to have in their hand; to the end that neither by over-measuring their forces, they leese themselves in vain enterprises; nor on the other side, by undervaluing them, they descend to fearful and pusillanimous counsels.

The greatness of an estate in bulk and territory, doth fall under measure; and the greatness of finances and revenew doth fall under computation. The population may appear by musters; and the number and greatness of cities and towns by cards and maps. But yet there is not any thing amongst civil affairs more subject to error, than the right valuation and true judgment concerning the power and forces of an estate. The kingdom of heaven is compared, not to any great kernel or nut, but to a grain of mustard-seed; which is one of the least grains, but hath in it a property and spirit hastily to get up and spread. So are there states great in territory, and yet not apt to enlarge or command;[1] and some that have but a small dimension of stem, and yet apt to be the foundations of great monarchies.

Walled towns, stored arsenals and armories, goodly races of horse, chariots of war, elephants, ordnance, artillery, and the like; all this is but a sheep in a lion's skin, except the breed and disposition of the people be stout and warlike. Nay, number (itself) in armies importeth not much, where the people is of weak

[1] *latius imperandum.*

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courage; for (as Virgil saith) *It never troubles a wolf how many the sheep be.* The army of the Persians in the plains of Arbela was such a vast sea of people, as it did somewhat astonish the commanders in Alexander's army; who came to him therefore, and wished him to set upon them by night; but he answered, *He would not pilfer the victory.* And the defeat was easy.[1] When Tigranes the Armenian, being encamped upon a hill with four hundred thousand men, discovered the army of the Romans, being not above fourteen thousand, marching towards him, he made himself merry with it, and said, *Yonder men are too many for an ambassage, and too few for a fight.* But before the sun set, he found them enow to give him the chase with infinite slaughter. Many are the examples of the great odds between number and courage: so that a man may truly make a judgment, that the principal point of greatness in any state is to have a race of military men.[2] Neither is money the sinews of war (as it is trivially said,[3]) where the sinews of men's arms, in base and effeminate people, are failing. For Solon said well to Crœsus (when in ostentation he shewed him his gold, *Sir, if any other come that hath better iron than you, he will be master of all this gold.* Therefore let any prince or state think soberly of his forces, except his militia of natives be of good and valiant soldiers. And let princes, on the other side, that have subjects of martial disposition, know their own strength; unless they be otherwise wanting unto

[1] *Ea autem etiam opinione fuit facilior.*

[2] *Primo igitur pro re certissimâ et exploratissimâ decernatur et statuatur, quod caput omnium quæ ad magnitudinem regni aut statûs spectant, sit ut populus ipse sit stirpe et ingenio bellicosus.*

[3] *Atque illud magis tritum quam verum, quod nervi belli sint pecuniæ.*

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themselves. As for mercenary forces (which is the help in this case), all examples show that whatsoever estate or prince doth rest upon them, *he may spread his feathers for a time, but he will mew them soon after.*

The blessing of Judah and Issachar will never meet; *that the same people or nation should be both the lion's whelp and the ass between burthens;* neither will it be, that a people overlaid with taxes should ever become valiant and martial. It is true that taxes levied by consent of the estate do abate men's courage less: as it hath been seen notably in the excises of the Low Countries; and, in some degree, in the subsidies of England. For you must note that we speak now of the heart and not of the purse. So that although the same tribute and tax, laid by consent or by imposing, be all one to the purse, yet it works diversly upon the courage. So that you may conclude, *that no people over-charged with tribute is fit for empire.*

Let states that aim at greatness, take heed how their nobility and gentlemen do multiply too fast. For that maketh the common subject grow to be a peasant and base swain, driven out of heart, and in effect but the gentleman's labourer. Even as you may see in coppice woods; if you leave your staddles[1] too thick, you shall never have clean underwood,[2] but shrubs and bushes. So in countries, if the gentlemen be too many, the commons will be base; and you will bring it to that, that not the hundred poll will be fit for an helmet; especially as to the infantry, which is the nerve of an army; and so there will be great population and little strength. This which I speak of hath

[1] *caudicum, sive arborum majorum.*
[2] *non renascitur sylva sincera aut pura.*

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been no where better seen than by comparing of England and France; whereof England, though far less in territory and population, hath been (nevertheless) an over-match; in regard the middle people of England make good soldiers, which the peasants of France do not. And herein the device of king Henry the Seventh (whereof I have spoken largely in the history of his life) was profound and admirable; in making farms and houses of husbandry of a standard; that is, maintained with such a proportion of land unto them, as may breed a subject to live in convenient plenty and no servile condition; and to keep the plough in the hands of the owners, and not mere hirelings.[1] And thus indeed you shall attain to Virgil's character which he gives to ancient Italy:

Terra potens armis atque ubere glebæ:

[A land powerful in arms and in productiveness of soil.] Neither is that state (which, for any thing I know, is almost peculiar to England, and hardly to be found any where else, except it be perhaps in Poland) to be passed over; I mean the state of free servants and attendants upon noblemen and gentlemen; which are no ways inferior unto the yeomanry for arms.[2] And therefore out of all question, the splendour and magnificence and great retinues and hospitality of noblemen and gentlemen, received into custom, doth much conduce unto martial greatness. Whereas, con-

[1] *quæ habeant certum, eumque mediocrem, agri modum annexum, qui distrahi non possit; eo fine ut ad victum liberiorem sufficiat; atque agricultura ab iis exerceretur, qui domini fuerint fundi, aut saltem usu-fructuarii, non conductitii aut mercenarii.*

[2] *hujus enim generis etiam inferiores, quoad peditatum, agricolis ipsis minime cedunt.*

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trariwise, the close and reserved living of noblemen and gentlemen causeth a penury of military forces.

By all means it is to be procured, that the trunk of Nebuchadnezzar's tree of monarchy be great enough to bear the branches and the boughs; that is, that the natural subjects of the crown or state bear a sufficient proportion to the stranger subjects that they govern.[1] Therefore all states that are liberal of naturalization towards strangers are fit for empire.[2] For to think that an handful of people can, with the greatest courage and policy in the world, embrace too large extent of dominion, it may hold for a time, but it will fail suddenly.[3] The Spartans were a nice people in point of naturalization;[4] whereby, while they kept their compass, they stood firm; but when they did spread, and their boughs were becomen too great for their stem,[5] they became a windfall upon the sudden. Never any state was in this point so open to receive strangers into their body as were the Romans. Therefore it sorted with them accordingly; for they grew to the greatest monarchy. Their manner was to grant naturalisation (which they called *jus civitatis*), and to grant it in the highest degree; that is, not only *jus commercii*, *jus connubii*, *jus hæreditatis;* but also *jus suffragii*, and *jus honorum*.[6] And this not to singular persons alone, but likewise to whole families; yea to cities, and sometimes to nations. Add to this their custom of plantation of

[1] *ad subditos extraneos cohibendos satis superque sufficiat.*

[2] *ad imperii magnitudinem bene comparati sunt.*

[3] *diuturnitatem hæc res non assequitur.*

[4] *parci et difficiles in coöptandis novis civibus.*

[5] *et latius dominari quam ut stirps Spartanorum turbam exterorum imperio commode coercere posset.*

[6] *jus petitionis sive honorum.*

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colonies; whereby the Roman plant was removed into the soil of other nations. And putting both constitutions together, you will say that it was not the Romans that spread upon the world, but it was the world that spread upon the Romans; and that was the sure way of greatness. I have marvelled sometimes at Spain, how they clasp and contain so large dominions with so few natural Spaniards; but sure the whole compass of Spain is a very great body of a tree; far above Rome and Sparta at the first. And besides, though they have not had that usage to naturalise liberally, yet they have that which is next to it; that is, to employ almost indifferently all nations in their militia of ordinary soldiers; yea and sometimes in their highest commands.[1] Nay it seemeth at this instant they are sensible of this want of natives; as by the Pragmatical Sanction, now published,[2] appeareth.

It is certain, that sedentary and within-door arts, and delicate manufactures (that require rather the finger than the arm), have in their nature a contrariety to a military disposition. And generally, all warlike people are a little idle, and love danger better than travail. Neither must they be too much broken of it, if they shall be preserved in vigour. Therefore it was great advantage in the ancient states of Sparta, Athens, Rome, and others, that they had the use of slaves, which commonly did rid those manufactures.[3] But

[1] *quinetiam summum belli imperium haud raro ad duces natione non Hispanos deferunt.*

[2] *hoc anno promulgata.* A royal decree, or *pragmática*, was published in the summer of 1622, which gave certain privileges to persons who married, and further immunities to those who had six children. See Mr. Ellis's note, Vol. I. p. 798.

[3] *quorum laboribus istiusmodi officia expediebantur.*

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that is abolished, in greatest part, by the Christian law. That which cometh nearest to it, is to leave those arts chiefly to strangers (which for that purpose are the more easily to be received), and to contain the principal bulk of the vulgar natives within those three kinds, — tillers of the ground; free servants; and handicraftsmen of strong and manly arts, as smiths, masons, carpenters, &c.: not reckoning professed soldiers.

But above all, for empire and greatness, it importeth most, that a nation do profess arms as their principal honour, study, and occupation. For the things which we formerly have spoken of are but habilitations towards arms; and what is habilitation without intention and act?[1] Romulus, after his death (as they report or feign), sent a present to the Romans, that above all they should intend arms; and then they should prove the greatest empire of the world. The fabric of the state of Sparta was wholly (though not wisely) framed and composed to that scope and end.[2] The Persians and Macedonians had it for a flash. The Gauls, Germans, Goths, Saxons, Normans, and others, had it for a time. The Turks have it at this day, though in great declination.[3] Of Christian Europe, they that have it are, in effect, only the Spaniards. But it is so plain *that every man profiteth in that he most intendeth*, that it needeth not to be stood upon. It is enough to

[1] *Quorsum autem habilitas, si non rei ipsi incumbitur ut producatur in actum?*

[2] *ut cives sui belligeratores essent.*

[3] *Persarum et Macedonum idem erat institutum, sed non tam constans aut diuturnum. Britanni, Galli, Germani, Goti, Saxones, Normanni, et nonnulli alii etiam ad tempus armis se præcipue dediderunt. Turcæ idem institutum, lege suâ paululum extimulati, hodie retinent, sed magnâ cum militiæ (ut nunc est) declinatione.*

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point at it; that no nation which doth not directly profess arms,[1] may look to have greatness fall into their mouths. And on the other side, it is a most certain oracle of time, that those states that continue long in that profession (as the Romans and Turks principally have done) do wonders.[2] And those that have professed arms but for an age, have notwithstanding commonly attained that greatness in that age which maintained them long after, when their profession and exercise of arms hath grown to decay.

Incident[3] to this point is, for a state to have those laws or customs which may reach forth unto them just occasions (as may be pretended)[4] of war. For there is that justice imprinted in the nature of men, that they enter not upon wars (whereof so many calamities do ensue) but upon some, at the least specious, grounds and quarrels. The Turk hath at hand, for cause of war, the propagation of his law or sect; a quarrel that he may always command. The Romans, though they esteemed the extending the limits of their empire to be great honour to their generals when it was done, yet they never rested upon that alone to begin a war. First therefore, let nations that pretend to greatness have this; that they be sensible of wrongs, either upon borderers, merchants, or politic ministers; and that they sit not too long upon a provocation. Secondly, let them be prest[5] and ready to give aids and succours to their confederates; as it ever was with the Romans; insomuch, as if the confederates had leagues defensive

[1] *iisque præcipue studeat et incumbat.*
[2] *miros in imperio amplificando facere progressus.*
[3] *affine.*
[4] *aut saltem prætextus.*
[5] *prompta sit.*

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with divers other states, and, upon invasion offered, did implore their aids severally,[1] yet the Romans would ever be the foremost, and leave it to none other to have the honour. As for the wars which were anciently made on the behalf of a kind of party, or tacit conformity of estate,[2] I do not see how they may be well justified: as when the Romans made a war for the liberty of Græcia; or when the Lacedæmonians and Athenians made wars to set up or pull down democracies and oligarchies; or when wars were made by foreigners, under the pretence of justice or protection, to deliver the subjects of others from tyranny and oppression; and the like. Let it suffice, that no estate expect to be great, that is not awake upon any just occasion of arming.

No body can be healthful without exercise, neither natural body nor politic; and certainly to a kingdom or estate, a just and honourable war is the true exercise. A civil war indeed is like the heat of a fever; but a foreign war is like the heat of exercise, and serveth to keep the body in health; for in a slothful peace, both courages will effeminate and manners corrupt. But howsoever it be for happiness, without all question, for greatness it maketh, to be still for the most part in arms; and the strength of a veteran army (though it be a chargeable business) always on foot, is that which commonly giveth the law, or at least the reputation, amongst all neighbour states;[3] as may well be seen in Spain, which hath had, in one part or other,

[1] *si forte in populum fœderatum, cui etiam cum aliis fœdus defensivum intercederet, hostilis impressio facta esset, atque ille a plurimis suppetias peteret.*

[2] *propter statuum conformitatem quandam aut correspondentiam tacitam.*

[3] *ut statui alicui quasi arbitrium rerum inter vicinos, aut saltem plurimum existimationis ad omnia conferat.*

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a veteran army almost continually, now by the space of six score years.

To be master of the sea is an abridgment of a monarchy. Cicero, writing to Atticus of Pompey his preparation against Cæsar, saith, *Consilium Pompeii plane Themistocleum est; putat enim, qui mari potitur, eum rerum potiri;* [Pompey is going upon the policy of Themistocles; thinking that he who commands the sea commands all.] And, without doubt, Pompey had tired out Cæsar, if upon vain confidence he had not left that way. We see the great effects of battles by sea. The battle of Actium decided the empire of the world. The battle of Lepanto arrested the greatness of the Turk. There be many examples where sea-fights have been final to the war; but this is when princes or states have set up their rest upon the battles. But thus much is certain, that he that commands the sea is at great liberty, and may take as much and as little of the war as he will. Whereas those that be strongest by land are many times nevertheless in great straits. Surely, at this day, with us of Europe, the vantage of strength at sea (which is one of the principal dowries of this kingdom of Great Britain) is great;[1] both because most of the kingdoms of Europe are not merely inland, but girt with the sea most part of their compass; and because the wealth of both Indies seems in great part but an accessary to the command of the seas.

The wars of latter ages seem to be made in the dark, in respect of the glory and honour which reflected upon men from the wars in ancient time. There be

[1] *At hodie atque apud nos Europæos, si unquam aut uspiam, potentia navalis . . . . . summi ad rerum fastigia momenti est.*

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now, for martial encouragement, some degrees and orders of chivalry; which nevertheless are conferred promiscuously upon soldiers and no soldiers; and some remembrance perhaps upon the scutcheon; and some hospitals for maimed soldiers; and such like things. But in ancient times, the trophies erected upon the place of the victory; the funeral laudatives and monuments for those that died in the wars; the crowns and garlands personal;[1] the style of Emperor, which the great kings of the world after borrowed; the triumphs of the generals upon their return; the great donatives and largesses upon the disbanding of the armies; were things able to inflame all men's courages.[2] But above all, that of the Triumph, amongst the Romans, was not pageants or gaudery, but one of the wisest and noblest institutions that ever was. For it contained three things: honour to the general; riches to the treasury out of the spoils; and donatives to the army. But that honour perhaps were not fit for monarchies; except it be in the person of the monarch himself, or his sons; as it came to pass in the times of the Roman emperors, who did impropriate the actual triumphs to themselves and their sons, for such wars as they did achieve in person; and left only, for wars achieved by subjects, some triumphal garments and ensigns to the general.

To conclude: no man can *by care taking* (as the Scripture saith) *add a cubit to his stature*, in this little model of a man's body; but in the great frame of kingdoms and commonwealths, it is in the power of

[1] *Coronæ civicæ, militares, singulis concessæ.*

[2] *Hæc (inquam) tot et tanta fuerunt, et tam insigni splendore coruscantia, ut pectoribus mortalium etiam maxime conglaciatis igniculos subdere, eaque ad bellum inflammare potuerint.*

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princes or estates to add amplitude and greatness to their kingdoms; for by introducing such ordinances, constitutions, and customs, as we have now touched, they may sow greatness to their posterity and succession. But these things are commonly not observed, but left to take their chance.

XXX. Of Regiment of Health.

There is a wisdom in this beyond the rules of physic: a man's own observation, what he finds good of, and what he finds hurt of, is the best physic to preserve health. But it is a safer conclusion to say, *This agreeth not well with me, therefore I will not continue it;* than this, *I find no offence of this, therefore I may use it.* For strength of nature in youth passeth over many excesses, which are owing a man till his age. Discern of the coming on of years, and think not to do the same things still; for age will not be defied. Beware of sudden change in any great point of diet, and if necessity inforce it, fit the rest to it. For it is a secret both in nature and state, that it is safer to change many things than one.[1] Examine thy customs of diet, sleep, exercise, apparel,[2] and the like; and try, in any thing thou shalt judge hurtful, to discontinue it by little and little; but so, as if thou dost find any inconvenience by the change, thou come back to it again: for it is hard to distinguish that which is generally held good and wholesome,[3] from that which is good particu-

[1] *quam unum magnum.*
[2] The translation adds *mansionis.*
[3] *quæ toto genere sunt salubria.*

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larly, and fit for thine own body. To be free-minded and cheerfully disposed at hours of meat and of sleep and of exercise, is one of the best precepts of long lasting. As for the passions and studies of the mind; avoid envy; anxious fears; anger fretting inwards;[1] subtle and knotty inquisitions; joys and exhilarations in excess; sadness not communicated. Entertain hopes; mirth rather than joy; variety of delights, rather than surfeit of them; wonder and admiration, and therefore novelties; studies that fill the mind with splendid and illustrious objects, as histories, fables, and contemplations of nature. If you fly physic in health altogether, it will be too strange for your body when you shall need it. If you make it too familiar, it will work no extraordinary effect when sickness cometh. I commend rather some diet for certain seasons, than frequent use of physic, except it be grown into a custom. For those diets alter the body more, and trouble it less. Despise no new accident in your body, but ask opinion[2] of it. In sickness, respect health principally; and in health, action.[3] For those that put their bodies to endure in health, may in most sicknesses, which are not very sharp, be cured only with diet and tendering. Celsus could never have spoken it as a physician, had he not been a wise man withal, when he giveth it for one of the great precepts of health and lasting, that a man do vary and interchange contraries, but with an inclination to the more benign extreme: use fasting and full eating, but rather full eating; watching and sleep, but rather sleep; sitting and exer-

[1] *iram intus cohibitam.*
[2] *consilium medicorum.*
[3] *corpore tuo utere, nec sis nimis delicatus.*

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cise, but rather exercise; and the like. So shall nature be cherished, and yet taught masteries.[1] Physicians are some of them so pleasing and conformable to the humour of the patient, as they press not the true cure of the disease; and some other are so regular in proceeding according to art for the disease, as they respect not sufficiently the condition of the patient. Take one of a middle temper; or if it may not be found in one man, combine two of either sort; and forget not to call as well the best acquainted with your body, as the best reputed of for his faculty.

XXXI. Of Suspicion.

Suspicions amongst thoughts are like bats amongst birds, they ever fly by twilight. Certainly they are to be repressed, or at the least well guarded: for they cloud the mind; they leese friends; and they check with business, whereby business cannot go on currently and constantly. They dispose kings to tyranny, husbands to jealousy, wise men to irresolution and melancholy. They are defects, not in the heart, but in the brain; for they take place in the stoutest natures; as in the example of Henry the Seventh of England. There was not a more suspicious man, nor a more stout. And in such a composition they do small hurt. For commonly they are not admitted, but with examination, whether they be likely or no? But in fearful natures they gain ground too fast. There is nothing makes a man suspect much, more than to know little; and therefore men should remedy suspicion by procur-

[1] *robur acquiret.*

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ing to know more, and not to keep their suspicions in smother.[1] What would men have? Do they think those they employ and deal with are saints? Do they not think they will have their own ends, and be truer to themselves than to them? Therefore there is no better way to moderate suspicions, than to account upon such suspicions as true and yet to bridle them as false.[2] For so far a man ought to make use of suspicions, as to provide, as if that should be true that he suspects, yet it may do him no hurt. Suspicions that the mind of itself gathers are but buzzes; but suspicions that are artificially nourished, and put into men's heads by the tales and whisperings of others, have stings. Certainly, the best mean to clear the way in this same wood of suspicions, is frankly to communicate them with the party that he suspects; for thereby he shall be sure to know more of the truth of them than he did before; and withal shall make that party more circumspect not to give further cause of suspicion. But this would not be done to men of base natures; for they, if they find themselves once suspected, will never be true. The Italian says, *Sospetto licentia fede;* as if suspicion did give a passport to faith; but it ought rather to kindle it to discharge itself.

XXXII. Of Discourse.

Some in their discourse desire rather commendation of wit, in being able to hold all arguments, than of

[1] *ut quis inquisitionem urgeat. Fumo enim et tenebris aluntur suspiciones.*

[2] *remedia parare ac si suspiciones essent veræ; iis vero fræna injicere, ac si essent falsæ.*

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judgment, in discerning what is true; as if it were a praise to know what might be said, and not what should be thought. Some have certain common places and themes wherein they are good, and want variety;[1] which kind of poverty is for the most part tedious, and when it is once perceived, ridiculous. The honourablest part of talk is to give the occasion; and again to moderate and pass to somewhat else; for then a man leads the dance. It is good, in discourse and speech of conversation, to vary and intermingle speech of the present occasion with arguments, tales with reasons, asking of questions with telling of opinions, and jest with earnest: for it is a dull thing to tire, and, as we say now, to jade, any thing too far.[2] As for jest, there be certain things which ought to be privileged from it; namely, religion, matters of state, great persons, any man's present business of importance, and any case that deserveth pity. Yet there be some that think their wits have been asleep, except they dart out somewhat that is piquant, and to the quick. That is a vein which would be bridled;

Parce, puer, stimulis, et fortius utere loris.

And generally, men ought to find the difference between saltness and bitterness. Certainly, he that hath a satirical vein, as he maketh others afraid of his wit, so he had need be afraid of others' memory. He that questioneth much, shall learn much, and content much; but especially if he apply his questions to the skill of the persons whom he asketh; for he shall give them occasion to please themselves in speaking, and himself

[1] *cætera steriles et jejuni.*
[2] *satietatem enim et fastidium parit, in aliquo subjecto diutius hærere.*

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shall continually gather knowledge. But let his questions not be troublesome; for that is fit for a poser.[1] And let him be sure to leave other men their turns to speak.[2] Nay, if there be any that would reign and take up all the time, let him find means to take them off, and to bring others on; as musicians use to do with those that dance too long galliards. If you dissemble sometimes your knowledge of that you are thought to know, you shall be thought another time to know that you know not. Speech of a man's self ought to be seldom, and well chosen. I knew one was wont to say in scorn, *He must needs be a wise man, he speaks so much of himself:* and there is but one case wherein a man may commend himself with good grace; and that is in commending virtue in another; especially if it be such a virtue whereunto himself pretendeth. Speech of touch towards others[3] should be sparingly used; for discourse ought to be as a field, without coming home to any man.[4] I knew two noblemen, of the west part of England, whereof the one was given to scoff, but kept ever royal cheer in his house; the other would ask of those that had been at the other's table, *Tell truly, was there never a flout or dry blow given?* To which the guest would answer, *Such and such a thing passed.* The lord would say, *I thought he would mar a good dinner.*[5] Discretion of speech is

[1] That is, an examiner. *Id enim examinatori convenit.*

[2] *Etiam qui sermonis familiaris dignitatem tueri cupit, aliis vices loquendi relinquat.*

[3] *alios pungens et vellicans.*

[4] *instar campi aperti in quo spatiari licet, non viæ regiæ quæ deducit domum,* (a translation in which it seems to me that the point of the original is partly missed; the "via *regia*" introducing an idea alien to the sense, as I understand it).

[5] *at ille, utpote alterius æmulus, satis sciebam eum prandium bonum malis condimentis corrupturum.*

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more than eloquence; and to speak agreeably to him with whom we deal, is more than to speak in good words or in good order. A good continued speech, without a good speech of interlocution, shews slowness; and a good reply or second speech, without a good settled speech, sheweth shallowness and weakness. As we see in beasts, that those that are weakest in the course, are yet nimblest in the turn; as it is betwixt the greyhound and the hare. To use too many circumstances ere one come to the matter, is wearisome; to use none at all, is blunt.

XXXIII. Of Plantations.[1]

Plantations are amongst ancient, primitive, and heroical works.[2] When the world was young it begat more children; but now it is old it begets fewer: for I may justly account new plantations to be the children of former kingdoms. I like a plantation in a pure soil; that is, where people are not displanted to the end to plant in others. For else it is rather an extirpation than a plantation. Planting of countries is like planting of woods; for you must make account to leese almost twenty years profit, and expect your recompense in the end.[3] For the principal thing that hath been the destruction of most plantations, hath been the base and hasty drawing of profit in the first years. It is true, speedy profit is not to be neglected, as far as

[1] *De Plantationibus populorum et coloniis.* This Essay seems to have been carefully translated; and revised in the translation, probably by Bacon himself.

[2] *Coloniæ eminent inter antiqua et heroica opera.*

[3] *verum fructus uber et locuples in fine operis expectandus.*

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may stand with the good of the plantation, but no further. It is a shameful and unblessed thing to take the scum of people, and wicked condemned men, to be the people with whom you plant; and not only so, but it spoileth the plantation; for they will ever live like rogues, and not fall to work, but be lazy, and do mischief, and spend victuals, and be quickly weary, and then certify over to their country to the discredit of the plantation. The people wherewith you plant ought to be gardeners, ploughmen, labourers, smiths, carpenters, joiners, fishermen, fowlers, with some few apothecaries, surgeons, cooks, and bakers.[1] In a country of plantation,[2] first look about what kind of victual[3] the country yields of itself to hand; as chestnuts, walnuts, pineapples, olives, dates, plums, cherries, wild honey, and the like; and make use of them. Then consider what victual or esculent things there are, which grow speedily, and within the year; as parsnips, carrots, turnips, onions, radish,[4] artichokes of Hierusalem, maize, and the like. For wheat,[5] barley, and oats, they ask too much labour; but with pease and beans you may begin, both because they ask less labour, and because they serve for meat as well as for bread. And of rice likewise cometh a great increase, and it is a kind of meat. Above all, there ought to be brought store of biscuit, oat-meal, flour, meal, and the like, in the beginning, till bread may be had. For beasts, or birds, take chiefly such as are least subject to diseases, and multiply fastest; as swine, goats, cocks, hens, turkeys,

[1] The translation adds, *cervisiarii, et hujusmodi.*
[2] *In regione ubi plantare instituis.*
[3] *quod genus esculentorum et poculentorum.*
[4] The translation adds, *melones, pepones, cucumeres.*
[5] The translation adds, *siliquam.*

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geese, house-doves,[1] and the like. The victual in plantations ought to be expended almost as in a besieged town; that is, with certain allowance. And let the main part of the ground employed to gardens or corn, be to a common stock; and to be laid in, and stored up, and then delivered out in proportion; besides some spots of ground that any particular person will manure for his own private. Consider likewise what commodities the soil where the plantation is doth naturally yield, that they may some way help to defray the charge of the plantation, (so it be not, as was said, to the untimely prejudice of the main business,) as it hath fared with tobacco in Virginia.[2] Wood commonly aboundeth but too much;[3] and therefore timber is fit to be one. If there be iron ore,[4] and streams whereupon to set the mills, iron is a brave commodity where wood aboundeth. Making of bay-salt,[5] if the climate be proper for it, would be put in experience. Growing silk likewise, if any be, is a likely commodity. Pitch and tar, where store of firs and pines are, will not fail. So drugs and sweet woods, where they are, cannot but yield great profit. Soap-ashes likewise, and other things that may be thought of. But moil not too much under ground; for the hope of mines is very uncertain, and useth to make the planters lazy in other things.[6]

[1] The translation adds, rabbits: *cuniculi.*

[2] *ut exportatio eorum in loca ubi maxime in pretio sunt sumptus levet; ut usuvenit in Nicotiano apud Virginiam; modo non sit,* &c. I have inserted the marks of parenthesis, which are not in the original; the construction being ambiguous without them.

[3] The words "but too much," are omitted in the translation.

[4] Spelt *ure* in the original; as the same word is in one place in the manuscript of the History of Henry VII. The translation has *vena ferri.*

[5] *Salis nigri confectio per vigorem solis.*

[6] *verum fodinis ne confidas nimium, præsertim a principio. Fodinæ enim*

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For government, let it be in the hands of one, assisted with some counsel; and let them have commission to exercise martial laws, with some limitation. And above all, let men make that profit of being in the wilderness, as they have God always, and his service, before their eyes. Let not the government of the plantation depend upon too many counsellors and undertakers in the country that planteth, but upon a temperate number;[1] and let those be rather noblemen and gentlemen, than merchants; for they look ever to the present gain. Let there be freedoms from custom, till the plantation be of strength; and not only freedom from custom, but freedom to carry their commodities where they may make their best of them, except there be some special cause of caution. Cram not in people, by sending too fast company after company; but rather harken how they waste, and send supplies proportionably; but so as the number may live well in the plantation, and not by surcharge be in penury. It hath been a great endangering to the health of some plantations, that they have built along the sea and rivers, in marish and unwholesome grounds. Therefore, though you begin there, to avoid carriage and other like discommodities, yet build still rather upwards from the streams, than along. It concerneth likewise the health of the plantation that they have good store of salt with them, that they may use it in their victuals, when it shall be necessary.[2] If you plant where savages are,

fallaces sunt et sumptuosæ, et spe pulchrâ lactantes, colonos reddunt circa alia socordes.

[1] *Rursus, Colonia a numerosiore concilio (intelligo in regione matre coloniæ residente) non pendeat; nec ob contributiones exiguas multitudini nimiæ subjiciatur; sed sit numerus eorum qui coloniam procurant et ordinant moderatus.*

[2] *quo cibi, quos verisimile est putridos aliter sæpe futuros, condiantur.*

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do not only entertain them with trifles and gingles; but use them justly and graciously, with sufficient guard nevertheless; and do not win their favour by helping them to invade their enemies, but for their defence it is not amiss; and send oft of them over to the country that plants, that they may see a better condition than their own, and commend it when they return. When the plantation grows to strength, then it is time to plant with women as well as with men; that the plantation may spread into generations,[1] and not be ever pieced from without. It is the sinfullest thing in the world to forsake or destitute a plantation once in forwardness; for besides the dishonour, it is the guiltiness of blood of many commiserable persons.[2]

XXXIV. Of Riches.

I cannot call Riches better than the baggage of virtue. The Roman word is better, *impedimenta.* For as the baggage is to an army, so is riches to virtue. It cannot be spared nor left behind, but it hindereth the march;[3] yea and the care of it sometimes loseth or disturbeth the victory. Of great riches there is no real use, except it be in the distribution; the rest is but conceit. So saith Salomon, *Where much is, there are many to consume it; and what hath the owner but the sight of it with his eyes?* The personal fruition in any man cannot reach to feel great riches:[4] there is

[1] *ex sese propagetur.*

[2] *nil aliud est quam proditio mera, profusioque sanguinis complurium hominum miserorum.*

[3] *necessariæ siquidem sunt, sed graves.*

[4] *Possessio divitiarum nulla voluptate dominum perfundit, quantum ad sensum.*

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a custody of them; or a power of dole and donative of them; or a fame of them; but no solid use to the owner. Do you not see what feigned prices are set upon little stones and rarities? and what works of ostentation are undertaken, because there might seem to be some use of great riches? But then you will say, they may be of use to buy men out of dangers or troubles. As Salomon saith, *Riches are as a strong hold, in the imagination of the rich man.* But this is excellently expressed,[1] that it is in imagination, and not always in fact. For certainly great riches have sold more men than they have bought out. Seek not proud riches, but such as thou mayest get justly, use soberly, distribute cheerfully, and leave contentedly. Yet have no abstract nor friarly[2] contempt of them. But distinguish, as Cicero saith well of Rabirius Posthumus, *In studio rei amplificandæ apparebat, non avaritiæ prædam, sed instrumentum bonitati quæri;* [In seeking to increase his estate it was apparent that he sought not a prey for avarice to feed on, but an instrument for goodness to work with.] Hearken also to Salomon, and beware of hasty gathering of riches; *Qui festinat ad divitias, non erit insons:* [He that maketh haste to be rich shall not be innocent.] The poets feign, that when Plutus (which is Riches) is sent from Jupiter, he limps and goes slowly; but when he is sent from Pluto, he runs and is swift of foot. Meaning that riches gotten by good means and just labour pace slowly; but when they come by the death of others (as by the course of inheritance, testaments, and the like), they come tumbling upon a man. But

[1] *sed caute Salomon.*

[2] *instar monachi alicujus aut a sæculo abstracti.*

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it mought be applied likewise to Pluto, taking him for the devil. For when riches come from the devil (as by fraud and oppression and unjust means), they come upon speed. The ways to enrich are many, and most of them foul. Parsimony is one of the best, and yet is not innocent; for it withholdeth men from works of liberality and charity. The improvement of the ground is the most natural obtaining of riches; for it is our great mother's blessing, the earth's; but it is slow. And yet where men of great wealth do stoop to husbandry, it multiplieth riches exceedingly. I knew a nobleman in England, that had the greatest audits of any man in my time; a great grazier, a great sheep-master, a great timber man,[1] a great collier, a great corn-master, a great lead-man, and so of iron, and a number of the like points of husbandry. So as the earth seemed a sea to him, in respect of the perpetual importation. It was truly observed by one, that himself came very hardly to a little riches, and very easily to great riches. For when a man's stock is come to that, that he can expect the prime of markets, and overcome those bargains which for their greatness are few men's money, and be partner in the industries of younger men,[2] he cannot but increase mainly. The gains of ordinary trades and vocations are honest; and furthered by two things chiefly: by diligence, and by a good name for good and fair dealing. But the gains of bargains[3] are of a more doubtful nature; when men shall wait upon others' necessity, broke by servants and instruments to draw them on,[4] put off others

[1] *dives sylvis tam cædui quam grandioribus.*

[2] *etiam in laboribus aliorum participare qui minus pecunia abundant.*

[3] *lucra ex contractibus majoribus.*

[4] *servos et ministros alienos in damnum dominorum corrumpat.*

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cunningly that would be better chapmen, and the like practices, which are crafty and naught.[1] As for the chopping of bargains, when a man buys not to hold but to sell over again, that commonly grindeth double, both upon the seller and upon the buyer. Sharings do greatly enrich, if the hands be well chosen that are trusted. Usury is the certainest means of gain, though one of the worst; as that whereby a man doth eat his bread *in sudore vultûs alieni;* [in the sweat of another man's face;] and besides, doth plough upon Sundays. But yet certain though it be, it hath flaws; for that the scriveners and brokers do value unsound men[2] to serve their own turn. The fortune in being the first in an invention or in a privilege, doth cause sometimes a wonderful overgrowth in riches; as it was with the first sugar man in the Canaries. Therefore if a man can play the true logician, to have as well judgment as invention, he may do great matters; especially if the times be fit. He that resteth upon gains certain, shall hardly grow to great riches; and he that puts all upon adventures, doth oftentimes break and come to poverty:[3] it is good therefore to guard adventures with certainties, that may uphold losses. Monopolies, and coemption of wares for re-sale, where they are not restrained, are great means to enrich; especially if the party have intelligence what things are like to come into request, and so store himself beforehand. Riches gotten by service, though it be of the best rise,[4] yet when they are gotten by flattery,

[1] *quæ omnes merito damnandæ sunt.*

[2] *homines fortunarum dubiarum quandoque extollent.*

[3] *vix fortunarum dispendia vitabit.*

[4] *Opum acquisitio per servitium regum aut magnatum dignitatem aliquam habet.*

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feeding humours, and other servile conditions, they may be placed amongst the worst. As for fishing for testaments and executorships (as Tacitus saith of Seneca, *testamenta et orbos tamquam indagine capi*,) it is yet worse; by how much men submit themselves to meaner persons than in service. Believe not much them that seem to despise riches; for they despise them that despair of them; and none worse when they come to them.[1] Be not penny-wise; riches have wings, and sometimes they fly away of themselves, sometimes they must be set flying to bring in more. Men leave their riches either to their kindred, or to the public;[2] and moderate portions prosper best in both. A great state left to an heir, is as a lure to all the birds of prey round about to seize on him, if he be not the better stablished in years and judgment. Likewise glorious gifts and foundations are like *sacrifices without salt;* and but the painted sepulchres of alms, which soon will putrefy and corrupt inwardly. Therefore measure not thine advancements by quantity, but frame them by measure:[3] and defer not charities till death; for, certainly, if a man weigh it rightly, he that doth so is rather liberal of another man's than of his own.

[1] *neque invenies usquam tenaciores, ubi incipient ditescere.*

[2] *aut usui publico, aut liberis, cognatis, et amicis.*

[3] *dona tua magnitudine ne metiaris, sed commoditate; et ad debitam mensuram redigas.*

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XXXV. Of Prophecies.[1]

I mean not to speak of divine prophecies; nor of heathen oracles; nor of natural predictions; but only of prophecies that have been of certain memory, and from hidden causes. Saith the Pythonissa to Saul, *To-morrow thou and thy son shall be with me.* Homer hath these verses:

> At domus Æneæ cunctis dominabitur oris,
> Et nati natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis.

[The house of Æneas shall reign in all lands, and his children's children, and their generations.] A prophecy, as it seems, of the Roman empire. Seneca the tragedian hath these verses:

> ——— Venient annis
> Sæcula seris, quibus Oceanus
> Vincula rerum laxet, et ingens
> Pateat Tellus, Tiphysque novos
> Detegat orbes; nec sit terris
> Ultima Thule:

[There shall come a time when the bands of ocean shall be loosened, and the vast earth shall be laid open; another Tiphys shall disclose new worlds, and lands shall be seen beyond Thule:] a prophecy of the discovery of America. The daughter of Polycrates dreamed that Jupiter bathed her father, and Apollo anointed him; and it came to pass that he was crucified in an open place, where the sun made his body run with sweat, and the rain washed it. Philip of Macedon dreamed he sealed up his wife's belly; whereby he did expound it, that his wife should be barren; but Aristander the soothsayer told him his

[1] There is no Latin translation of this Essay.

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wife was with child, because men do not use to seal vessels that are empty. A phantasm that appeared to M. Brutus in his tent, said to him, *Philippis iterum me videbis:* [Thou shall see me again at Philippi.] Tiberius said to Galba, *Tu quoque, Galba, degustabis imperium;* [Thou likewise shall taste of empire.] In Vespasian's time, there went a prophecy in the East, that those that should come forth of Judea should reign over the world: which though it may be was meant of our Saviour, yet Tacitus expounds it of Vespasian. Domitian dreamed, the night before he was slain, that a golden head was growing out of the nape of his neck: and indeed the succession that followed him, for many years, made golden times. Henry the Sixth of England said of Henry the Seventh, when he was a lad, and gave him water, *This is the lad that shall enjoy the crown for which we strive.* When I was in France, I heard from one Dr. Pena, that the Queen Mother, who was given to curious arts, caused the King her husband's nativity to be calculated, under a false name; and the astrologer gave a judgment, that he should be killed in a duel; at which the Queen laughed, thinking her husband to be above challenges and duels: but he was slain upon a course at tilt, the splinters of the staff of Montgomery going in at his beaver. The trivial prophecy, which I heard when I was a child, and queen Elizabeth was in the flower of her years, was,

When hempe is sponne
England's done:

whereby it was generally conceived, that after the princes had reigned which had the principial letters of that word *hempe* (which were Henry, Edward,

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Mary, Philip, and Elizabeth), England should come to utter confusion; which, thanks be to God, is verified only in the change of the name; for that the King's style is now no more of England, but of Britain. There was also another prophecy, before the year of eighty-eight, which I do not well understand.

> There shall be seen upon a day,
> Between the Baugh and the May,
> The black fleet of Norway.
> When that that is come and gone,
> England build houses of lime and stone,
> For after wars shall you have none.

It was generally conceived to be meant of the Spanish fleet that came in eighty-eight: for that the king of Spain's surname, as they say, is Norway. The prediction of Regiomontanus,

> Octogesimus octavus mirabilis annus,

was thought likewise accomplished in the sending of that great fleet, being the greatest in strength, though not in number, of all that ever swam upon the sea. As for Cleon's dream, I think it was a jest. It was, that he was devoured of a long dragon; and it was expounded of a maker of sausages, that troubled him exceedingly. There are numbers of the like kind; especially if you include dreams, and predictions of astrology. But I have set down these few only of certain credit, for example. My judgment is, that they ought all to be despised; and ought to serve but for winter talk by the fireside. Though when I say *despised*, I mean it as for belief; for otherwise, the spreading or publishing of them is in no sort to be despised. For they have done much mischief; and I see many severe laws made to suppress them. That that

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hath given them grace, and some credit, consisteth in three things. First, that men mark when they hit, and never mark when they miss; as they do generally also of dreams. The second is, that probable conjectures, or obscure traditions, many times turn themselves into prophecies; while the nature of man, which coveteth divination, thinks it no peril to foretell that which indeed they do but collect. As that of Seneca's verse. For so much was then subject to demonstration, that the globe of the earth had great parts beyond the Atlantic, which mought be probably conceived not to be all sea: and adding thereto the tradition in Plato's Timæus, and his Atlanticus,[1] it mought encourage one to turn it to a prediction. The third and last (which is the great one) is, that almost all of them, being infinite in number, have been impostures, and by idle and crafty brains merely contrived and feigned after the event past.

XXXVI. Of Ambition.

Ambition is like choler; which is an humour that maketh men active, earnest, full of alacrity, and stirring, if it be not stopped. But if it be stopped, and cannot have his way, it becometh adust, and thereby malign and venomous. So ambitious men, if they find the way open for their rising, and still get forward, they are rather busy than dangerous; but if they be checked[2] in their desires, they become secretly discontent, and look upon men and matters with an evil eye,

[1] That is the Critias.
[2] *frænentur et subinde frustrentur.*

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and are best pleased when things go backward; which is the worst property in a servant of a prince or state. Therefore it is good for princes, if they use ambitious men, to handle it so as they be still progressive and not retrograde; which because it cannot be without inconvenience, it is good not to use such natures at all. For if they rise not with their service, they will take order to make their service fall with them. But since we have said it were good not to use men of ambitious natures, except it be upon necessity, it is fit we speak in what cases they are of necessity. Good commanders in the wars must be taken, be they never so ambitious; for the use of their service dispenseth with the rest;[1] and to take a soldier without ambition is to pull off his spurs. There is also great use of ambitious men in being screens to princes in matters of danger and envy; for no man will take that part, except he be like a seeled dove, that mounts and mounts because he cannot see about him. There is use also of ambitious men in pulling down the greatness of any subject that overtops; as Tiberius used Macro in the pulling down of Sejanus. Since therefore they must be used in such cases, there resteth to speak how they are to be bridled, that they may be less dangerous. There is less danger of them if they be of mean birth, than if they be noble; and if they be rather harsh of nature, than gracious and popular: and if they be rather new raised, than grown cunning and fortified in their greatness. It is counted by some a weakness in princes to have favourites; but it is of all others the best remedy against ambitious great-ones. For when the way of pleasuring and displeasuring lieth by the favourite, it is

[1] *etenim utilitas ipsorum, ut præficiantur, cætera compensat.*

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impossible any other should be over-great. Another means to curb them, is to balance them by others as proud as they. But then there must be some middle counsellors, to keep things steady;[1] for without that ballast the ship will roll too much. At the least, a prince may animate and inure[2] some meaner persons, to be as it were scourges to ambitious men. As for the having of them obnoxious to ruin;[3] if they be of fearful natures, it may do well; but if they be stout and daring, it may precipitate their designs, and prove dangerous. As for the pulling of them down, if the affairs require it, and that it may not be done with safety suddenly, the only way is, the interchange continually of favours and disgraces; whereby they may not know what to expect, and be as it were in a wood. Of ambitions, it is less harmful, the ambition to prevail in great things, than that other to appear in every thing; for that breeds confusion,[4] and mars business. But yet it is less danger to have an ambitious man stirring in business, than great in dependances.[5] He that seeketh to be eminent amongst able men hath a great task; but that is ever good for the public. But he that plots to be the only figure amongst ciphers is the decay of a whole age. Honour hath three things in it: the vantage ground to do good; the approach to kings and principal persons; and the raising of a man's own fortunes. He that hath the best of these intentions, when he aspireth, is

[1] *qui partes medias teneant, ne factiones omnia pessundent.*

[2] *allicere . . . et animare.*

[3] *quantum ad ingenerandam illam in ambitiosis opinionem, ut se ruinæ proximos putent, atque eo modo contineantur.*

[4] *confusionem consiliorum.*

[5] *qui gratiâ et clientelis pollet.*

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an honest man; and that prince that can discern of these intentions in another that aspireth, is a wise prince. Generally, let princes and states choose such ministers as are more sensible of duty than of rising; and such as love business rather upon conscience than upon bravery;[1] and let them discern a busy nature from a willing mind.

XXXVII. Of Masques and Triumphs.[2]

These things are but toys, to come amongst such serious observations. But yet, since princes will have such things, it is better they should be graced with elegancy than daubed with cost. Dancing to song, is a thing of great state and pleasure. I understand it, that the song be in quire, placed aloft, and accompanied with some broken music; and the ditty fitted to the device. Acting in song, especially in dialogues, hath an extreme good grace; I say acting, not dancing (for that is a mean and vulgar thing); and the voices of the dialogue would be strong and manly, (a base and a tenor; no treble;) and the ditty high and tragical; not nice or dainty. Several quires, placed one over against another, and taking the voice by catches, anthem-wise, give great pleasure. Turning dances into figure is a childish curiosity. And generally let it be noted, that those things which I here set down are such as do naturally take the sense, and not respect petty wonderments. It is true, the alterations of scenes, so it be quietly and without noise,

[1] *quam ex ostentatione.*
[2] This Essay is not translated.

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are things of great beauty and pleasure; for they feed and relieve the eye, before it be full of the same object. Let the scenes abound with light, specially coloured and varied; and let the masquers, or any other, that are to come down from the scene, have some motions upon the scene itself before their coming down; for it draws the eye strangely, and makes it with great pleasure to desire to see that it cannot perfectly discern. Let the songs be loud and cheerful, and not chirpings or pulings. Let the music likewise be sharp and loud, and well placed. The colours that shew best by candle-light, are white, carnation, and a kind of sea-water-green; and oes, or spangs, as they are of no great cost, so they are of most glory. As for rich embroidery, it is lost and not discerned. Let the suits of the masquers be graceful, and such as become the person when the vizards are off; not after examples of known attires; Turks, soldiers, mariners, and the like. Let anti-masques not be long; they have been commonly of fools, satyrs, baboons, wild-men, antics, beasts, sprites, witches, Ethiops, pigmies, turquets, nymphs, rustics, Cupids, statua's moving, and the like. As for angels, it is not comical enough to put them in anti-masques; and any thing that is hideous, as devils, giants, is on the other side as unfit. But chiefly, let the music of them be recreative, and with some strange changes. Some sweet odours suddenly coming forth, without any drops falling, are, in such a company as there is steam and heat, things of great pleasure and refreshment. Double masques, one of men, another of ladies, addeth state and variety. But all is nothing except the room be kept clear and neat.

For justs, and tourneys, and barriers; the glories of

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them are chiefly in the chariots, wherein the challengers make their entry; especially if they be drawn with strange beasts: as lions, bears, camels, and the like; or in the devices of their entrance; or in the bravery of their liveries; or in the goodly furniture of their horses and armour. But enough of these toys.

XXXVIII. Of Nature in Men.

Nature is often hidden; sometimes overcome; seldom extinguished. Force maketh nature more violent in the return; doctrine and discourse maketh nature less importune;[1] but custom only doth alter and subdue nature. He that seeketh victory over his nature, let him not set himself too great nor too small tasks; for the first will make him dejected by often failings; and the second will make him a small proceeder, though by often prevailings. And at the first let him practise with helps, as swimmers do with bladders or rushes; but after a time let him practise with disadvantages, as dancers do with thick shoes. For it breeds great perfection, if the practice be harder than the use. Where nature is mighty, and therefore the victory hard, the degrees had need be,[2] first to stay and arrest nature in time; like to him that would say over the four and twenty letters[3] when he was angry; then to go less in quantity;[4] as if one should, in forbearing wine, come from drinking healths to a draught at a

[1] *affectus naturales reddunt minus quidem importunos, sed non tollunt.*
[2] *opus erit per gradus quosdam procedere, qui tales sint.*
[3] *priusquam quicquam faceret.*
[4] *secundo, naturam moderari et ad minores portiones reducere.*

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meal; and lastly, to discontinue altogether.[1] But if a man have the fortitude and resolution to enfranchise himself at once, that is the best:

> Optimus ille animi vindex lædentia pectus
> Vincula qui rupit, dedoluitque semel.
>
> [Wouldst thou be free? The chains that gall thy breast
> With one strong effort burst, and be at rest.]

Neither is the ancient rule amiss, to bend nature as a wand to a contrary extreme, whereby to set it right; understanding it, where the contrary extreme is no vice. Let not a man force a habit upon himself with a perpetual continuance, but with some intermission. For both the pause reinforceth the new onset; and if a man that is not perfect be ever in practice, he shall as well practise his errors as his abilities, and induce one habit of both; and there is no means to help this but by seasonable intermissions. But let not a man trust his victory over his nature too far; for nature will lay[2] buried a great time, and yet revive upon the occasion or temptation. Like as it was with Æsop's damsel, turned from a cat to a woman, who sat very demurely at the board's end, till a mouse ran before her. Therefore let a man either avoid the occasion altogether; or put himself often to it, that he may be little moved with it. A man's nature is best perceived in privateness, for there is no affectation; in passion, for that putteth a man out of his precepts; and in a

[1] *naturam penitus sub jugum mittere et domare.*

[2] So in original, and also in Ed. 1639. I have not thought it right to substitute *lie*, as has been usually done; because it may be that the form of the word was not settled in Bacon's time; and the correction of obsolete forms tends to conceal the history of the language. Compare Natural History, Century I. 19.

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new case or experiment, for there custom leaveth him. They are happy men whose natures sort with their vocations; otherwise they may say, *multum incola fuit anima mea*, [my soul hath been a stranger and a sojourner;] when they converse in those things they do not affect.[1] In studies, whatsoever a man commandeth upon himself, let him set hours for it; but whatsoever is agreeable to his nature, let him take no care for any set times; for his thoughts will fly to it of themselves; so as the spaces of other business or studies will suffice. A man's nature runs either to herbs or weeds; therefore let him seasonably water the one, and destroy the other.

XXXIX. Of Custom and Education.

Men's thoughts are much according to their inclination; their discourse and speeches according to their learning and infused opinions; but their deeds are after as they have been accustomed. And therefore, as Machiavel well noteth (though in an evil-favoured instance), there is no trusting to the force of nature nor to the bravery of words, except it be corroborate by custom. His instance is, that for the achieving of a desperate conspiracy, a man should not rest upon the fierceness of any man's nature, or his resolute undertakings;[2] but take such an one as hath had his hands formerly in blood. But Machiavel knew not of a friar Clement, nor a Ravillac, nor a Jaureguy, nor a Baltazar Gerard;[3] yet his rule holdeth still, that nature,

[1] This clause is omitted in the translation.
[2] *aut in promissis constantibus, nedum juramentis.*
[3] The translation adds: *aut Guidone Faulxio.*

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nor the engagement of words, are not so forcible as custom. Only superstition is now so well advanced, that men of the first blood[1] are as firm as butchers by occupation; and votary resolution is made equipollent to custom even in matter of blood. In other things the predominancy of custom is every where visible; insomuch as a man would wonder to hear men profess, protest, engage, give great words, and then do just as they have done before; as if they were dead images, and engines moved only by the wheels of custom. We see also the reign or tyranny of custom, what it is. The Indians (I mean the sect of their wise men)[2] lay themselves quietly upon a stack of wood, and so sacrifice themselves by fire. Nay the wives strive to be burned with the corpses of their husbands. The lads of Sparta, of ancient time, were wont to be scourged upon the altar of Diana, without so much as quecking.[3] I remember, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's time of England, an Irish rebel condemned, put up a petition to the Deputy that he might be hanged in a with, and not in an halter; because it had been so used with former rebels. There be monks in Russia, for penance, that will sit a whole night in a vessel of water, till they be engaged with hard ice. Many examples may be put of the force of custom,[4] both upon mind and body. Therefore, since custom is the principal magistrate of man's life, let men by all means endeav-

[1] The translation has *primæ classis sicarii;* (murderers of the first class): which seems to me to miss the meaning of the English. "Men of the first blood" must mean here, *men whose hands have not been in blood before.*

[2] *loquor de gymnosophistis, et veteribus et modernis.*

[3] *vix ejulatu aut gemitu ullo emisso. Quech*, according to Dr. Whately, means to *move* or *stir*.

[4] *plane stupendas consuetudinis viris . . . . prodentia.*

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our to obtain good customs. Certainly custom is most perfect when it beginneth in young years: this we call education; which is, in effect, but an early custom. So we see, in languages the tongue is more pliant to all expressions and sounds, the joints are more supple to all feats of activity and motions, in youth than afterwards. For it is true that late learners cannot so well take the ply; except it be in some minds that have not suffered themselves to fix, but have kept themselves open and prepared to receive continual amendment, which is exceeding rare. But if the force of custom simple and separate be great, the force of custom copulate and conjoined and collegiate is far greater. For there example teacheth, company comforteth, emulation quickeneth, glory raiseth: so as in such places the force of custom is in his exaltation. Certainly the great multiplication of virtues upon human nature[1] resteth upon societies well ordained and disciplined. For commonwealths and good governments do nourish virtue grown, but do not much mend the seeds. But the misery is, that the most effectual means are now applied to the ends least to be desired.

XL. Of Fortune.

It cannot be denied, but outward accidents conduce much to fortune;[2] favour,[3] opportunity, death of others, occasion fitting virtue. But chiefly, the mould of a man's fortune is in his own hands. *Faber quisque*

[1] *multiplicatio et (ut chymicorum vocabulo utar) projectio super naturam humanam.*

[2] *ad fortunas promovendas vel deprimendas.*

[3] *gratia alicujus ex magnatibus.*

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fortunæ suæ, saith the poet.[1] And the most frequent of external causes is, that the folly of one man is the fortune of another. For no man prospers so suddenly as by others' errors. *Serpens nisi serpentem comederit non fit draco.* [A serpent must have eaten another serpent, before he can become a dragon.] Overt and apparent virtues bring forth praise; but there be secret and hidden virtues that bring forth fortune; certain deliveries of a man's self, which have no name. The Spanish name, *desemboltura*, partly expresseth them; when there be not stonds[2] nor restiveness in a man's nature; but that the wheels of his mind keep way with the wheels of his fortune. For so Livy (after he had described Cato Major in these words, *In illo viro tantum robur corporis et animi fuit, ut quocunque loco natus esset, fortunam sibi facturus videretur*) [Such was his strength of body and mind, that wherever he had been born he could have made himself a fortune;] falleth upon that, that he had *versatile ingenium:* [a wit that could turn well.] Therefore if a man look sharply and attentively, he shall see Fortune: for though she be blind, yet she is not invisible. The way of fortune is like the milken way in the sky; which is a meeting or knot of a number of small stars; not seen asunder, but giving light together. So are there a number of little and scarce discerned virtues, or rather faculties and customs, that make men fortunate. The Italians note some of them, such as a man would little think. When they speak of one that cannot do amiss, they will throw in into his other conditions, that he hath *Poco di matto.* And certainly

[1] *inquit Comicus.* The poet is Plautus. Trinum. ii. 2. 84.
[2] *obices.*

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there be not two more fortunate properties, than to have a little of the fool, and not too much of the honest. Therefore extreme lovers of their country or masters were never fortunate, neither can they be. For when a man placeth his thoughts without himself, he goeth not his own way. An hasty fortune maketh an enterpriser and remover; (the French hath it better, *entreprenant*, or *remuant;*) but the exercised fortune maketh the able man.[1] Fortune is to be honoured and respected, and it be but for her daughters, Confidence and Reputation. For those two felicity breedeth; the first within a man's self, the latter in others towards him.[2] All wise men, to decline the envy of their own virtues, use to ascribe them to Providence and Fortune; for so they may the better assume them:[3] and, besides, it is greatness in a man to be the care of the higher powers. So Cæsar said to the pilot in the tempest, *Cæsarem portas, et fortunam ejus*: [You carry Cæsar and his fortune.] So Sylla chose the name of *Felix*, and not of *Magnus*. And it hath been noted, that those who ascribe openly too much to their own wisdom and policy, end infortunate. It is written that Timotheus the Athenian, after he had, in the account he gave to the state of his government, often interlaced this speech, *and in this Fortune had no part*, never prospered in any thing he undertook afterwards. Certainly there be, whose fortunes are like Homer's verses, that have a slide and easiness more than the verses of other poets; as Plutarch saith of Timoleon's fortune, in respect of that of Agesilaus

[1] *Fortuna præpropera magna molientes et nonnihil turbulentos reddit; at fortuna exercita ea est quæ efficit prudentes et cordatos.*

[2] The translation adds, *Eæque vicissim pariunt animos et auctoritatem.*

[3] *decentius et liberius eas sibi assumere.*

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or Epaminondas. And that this should be, no doubt it is much in a man's self.

XLI. Of Usury.

Many have made witty invectives against Usury. They say that it is a pity the devil should have God's part, which is the tithe. That the usurer is the greatest sabbath-breaker, because his plough goeth every Sunday. That the usurer is the drone that Virgil speaketh of;

Ignavum fucos pecus a præsepibus arcent.

That the usurer breaketh the first law that was made for mankind after the fall, which was, *in sudore vultûs tui comedes panem tuum;* not, *in sudore vultûs alieni;* [in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread — not in the sweat of another's face.] That usurers should have orange-tawny bonnets, because they do judaize. That it is against nature for money to beget money; and the like. I say this only, that usury is a *concessum propter duritiem cordis:* [a thing allowed by reason of the hardness of men's hearts:] for since there must be borrowing and lending, and men are so hard of heart as they will not lend freely, usury must be permitted. Some others have made suspicious and cunning propositions of banks,[1] discovery of men's estates, and other inventions. But few have spoken of usury usefully.[2] It is good to set before us the incommodities and commodities of usury, that the good may be either

[1] *de argentariis et excambiis publicis.*
[2] *solide et utiliter.*

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weighed out or culled out; and warily to provide, that while we make forth to that which is better, we meet not with that which is worse.[1]

The discommodities of usury are, First, that it makes fewer merchants. For were it not for this lazy trade of usury, money would not lie still, but would in great part be employed upon merchandizing; which is the *vena porta*[2] of wealth in a state. The second, that it makes poor merchants. For as a farmer cannot husband his ground so well if he sit at a great rent; so the merchant cannot drive his trade so well, if he sit at great usury. The third is incident to the other two;[3] and that is the decay of customs of kings or states, which ebb or flow with merchandizing. The fourth, that it bringeth the treasure of a realm or state into a few hands. For the usurer being at certainties, and others at uncertainties at the end of the game[4] most of the money will be in the box; and ever a state flourisheth when wealth is more equally spread.[5] The fifth, that it beats down the price of land; for the employment of money is chiefly either merchandizing or purchasing; and usury waylays both. The sixth, that it doth dull and damp all industries, improvements, and new inventions, wherein money would be stirring, if it were not for this slug. The last, that it is the canker and ruin of many men's estates; which in process of time breeds a public poverty.

On the other side, the commodities of usury are,

[1] *ne dum fœnore feramur in melius, intercipiamur et incidamus in pejus.*
[2] See p. 145, note 2.
[3] *duorum priorum appendix quædam.*
[4] So Ed. 1639. The original has *gaine;* the translation, *in fine ludi.*
[5] *quum pecuniæ dispergantur non conserventur.*

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first, that howsoever usury in some respect hindereth merchandizing, yet in some other it advanceth it; for it is certain that the greatest part of trade is driven by young merchants, upon borrowing at interest; so as if the usurer either call in or keep back his money, there will ensue presently a great stand of trade. The second is, that were it not for this easy borrowing upon interest, men's necessities would draw upon them a most sudden undoing; in that they would be forced to sell their means (be it lands or goods) far under foot;[1] and so, whereas usury doth but gnaw upon them, bad markets[2] would swallow them quite up. As for mortgaging or pawning, it will little mend the matter: for either men will not take pawns without use; or if they do, they will look precisely for the forfeiture. I remember a cruel monied man in the country, that would say, The devil take this usury, it keep us from forfeitures of mortgages and bonds. The third and last is, that it is a vanity to conceive that there would be ordinary borrowing without profit; and it is impossible to conceive the number of inconveniences that will ensue, if borrowing be cramped. Therefore to speak of the abolishing of usury is idle. All states have ever had it, in one kind or rate, or other. So as that opinion must be sent to Utopia.

To speak now of the reformation and reiglement of usury; how the discommodities of it may be best avoided, and the commodities retained. It appears by the balance of commodities and discommodities of usury,[3] two things are to be reconciled. The one,

[1] *nimis vili pretio.*
[2] *distractiones præproperæ.*
[3] *quod modo fecimus.*

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that the tooth of usury be grinded, that it bite not too much; the other, that there be left open a means to invite monied men to lend to the merchants, for the continuing and quickening of trade. This cannot be done, except you introduce two several sorts of usury, a less and a greater. For if you reduce usury to one low rate, it will ease the common borrower, but the merchant will be to seek for money. And it is to be noted, that the trade of merchandize, being the most lucrative, may bear usury at a good rate: other contracts not so.

To serve both intentions, the way would be briefly thus. That there be two rates of usury; the one free, and general for all; the other under licence only, to certain persons and in certain places of merchandizing. First therefore, let usury in general be reduced to five in the hundred; and let that rate be proclaimed to be free and current; and let the state shut itself out to take any penalty for the same.[1] This will preserve borrowing from any general stop or dryness. This will ease infinite borrowers in the country.[2] This will, in good part, raise the price of land, because land purchased at sixteen years' purchase will yield six in the hundred, and somewhat more; whereas this rate of interest yields but five.[3] This by like reason will encourage and edge industrious and profitable improvements; because many will rather venture in that kind than take five in the hundred, especially having been used to greater profit.

[1] *mulctæ omni renunciet.*

[2] *rure et alibi degentibus.*

[3] *Quandoquidem annuus valor prædiorum, hic apud nos in Anglia, excedet illum fœnoris ad hanc proportionem redacti, quantum annuus valor sex librarum excedit illum quinque tantum.*

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Secondly, let there be certain persons licensed to lend to known merchants upon usury at a higher rate; and let it be with the cautions following. Let the rate be, even with the merchant himself, somewhat more easy than that he used formerly to pay; for by that means all borrowers shall have some ease by this reformation, be he merchant, or whosoever. Let it be no bank or common stock, but every man be master of his own money. Not that I altogether mislike banks, but they will hardly be brooked, in regard of certain suspicions.[1] Let the state be answered some small matter for the licence, and the rest left to the lender; for if the abatement be but small, it will no whit discourage the lender. For he, for example, that took before ten or nine in the hundred, will sooner descend to eight in the hundred, than give over his trade of usury, and go from certain gains to gains of hazard. Let these licensed lenders be in number indefinite, but restrained to certain principal cities and towns of merchandizing; for then they will be hardly able to colour other men's monies in the country: so as the licence of nine will not suck away the current rate of five;[2] for no man will lend his monies far off, nor put them into unknown hands.

If it be objected that this doth in a sort authorize usury, which before was in some places but permissive; the answer is, that it is better to mitigate usury by declaration, than to suffer it to rage by connivance.[3]

[1] These two sentences are omitted in the translation.

[2] *ita enim, prætextu licentiarum, opportunitatem non habebunt pecunias aliorum pro suis commodandi: nec novem aut octo librarum proportio, licentiâ munita, generalem illam quinque librarum absorbebit.* To "colour another man's money" is to pass it for one's own. See Whateley's edition of Bacon's Essays, p. 382.

[3] The last paragraph is omitted in the translation.

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XLII. Of Youth and Age.

A man that is young in years may be old in hours, if he have lost no time. But that happeneth rarely. Generally, youth is like the first cogitations, not so wise as the second. For there is a youth in thoughts, as well as in ages. And yet the invention of young men is more lively than that of old; and imaginations stream into their minds better, and as it were more divinely. Natures that have much heat and great and violent desires and perturbations, are not ripe for action till they have passed the meridian of their years; as it was with Julius Cæsar, and Septimius Severus. Of the latter of whom it is said, *Juventutem egit erroribus, imo furoribus, plenam;* [He passed a youth full of errors, yea of madnesses.] And yet he was the ablest[1] emperor, almost, of all the list. But reposed natures may do well in youth. As it is seen in Augustus Cæsar, Cosmus Duke of Florence, Gaston de Fois, and others. On the other side, heat and vivacity in age is an excellent composition for business. Young men are fitter to invent than to judge; fitter for execution than for counsel; and fitter for new projects than for settled business.[2] For the experience of age,[3] in things that fall within the compass of it, directeth them; but in new things, abuseth them. The errors of young men are the ruin of business; but the errors of aged men amount but to this, that more might have been done, or sooner. Young men, in the conduct and manage of actions, embrace more than

[1] *celeberrimus.*
[2] *et ad negotia nova melius adhibentur quam ad consueta.*
[3] *senum.*

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they can hold; stir more than they can quiet; fly to the end, without consideration of the means and degrees; pursue some few principles which they have chanced upon absurdly; care not to innovate, which draws unknown inconveniences;[1] use extreme remedies at first; and that which doubleth all errors, will not acknowledge or retract them; like an unready horse,[2] that will neither stop nor turn. Men of age object too much, consult too long, adventure too little, repent too soon,[3] and seldom drive business home to the full period, but content themselves with a mediocrity of success. Certainly it is good to compound employments of both; for that will be good for the present, because the virtues of either age may correct the defects of both; and good for succession, that young men may be learners, while men in age are actors; and, lastly, good for extern accidents, because authority followeth old men, and favour and popularity youth. But for the moral part, perhaps youth will have the pre-eminence, as age hath for the politic. A certain rabbin, upon the text, *Your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams*, inferreth that young men are admitted nearer to God than old, because vision is a clearer revelation than a dream. And certainly, the more a man drinketh of the world, the more it intoxicateth: and age doth profit rather in the powers of understanding, than in the virtues of the will and affections. There be some have an over-early ripeness in their years, which fadeth betimes.[4] These

[1] This clause is omitted in the translation.

[2] *equus male domitus.*

[3] *pericula plus quam expedit reformidant; pœnitentiâ præproperâ vacillant.*

[4] *sunt qui in juventute admodum præcoces sunt, sed currentibus annis cito marcescunt.*

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are, first, such as have brittle wits, the edge whereof is soon turned; such as was Hermogenes the rhetorician, whose books are exceeding subtle; who afterwards waxed stupid. A second sort is of those that have some natural dispositions which have better grace in youth than in age; such as is a fluent and luxuriant speech; which becomes youth well, but not age: so Tully saith of Hortensius, *Idem manebat, neque idem decebat:* [He continued the same, when the same was not becoming.] The third is of such as take too high a strain at the first, and are magnanimous more than tract of years can uphold. As was Scipio Africanus, of whom Livy saith in effect, *Ultima primis cedebant:* [His last actions were not equal to his first.]

XLIII. Of Beauty.

Virtue is like a rich stone, best plain set; and surely virtue is best in a body that is comely, though not of delicate features; and that hath rather dignity of presence, than beauty of aspect. Neither is it almost seen, that very beautiful persons are otherwise of great virtue; as if nature were rather busy not to err, than in labour to produce excellency. And therefore they prove accomplished, but not of great spirit; and study rather behaviour than virtue. But this holds not always: for Augustus Cæsar, Titus Vespasianus, Philip le Bel of France, Edward the Fourth of England, Alcibiades of Athens, Ismael the Sophy of Persia, were all high and great spirits; and yet the most beautiful men of their times.[1] In beauty,

[1] *et nihilominus perpulchri.*

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that of favour[1] is more than that of colour; and that of decent and gracious motion[2] more than that of favour. That is the best part of beauty, which a picture cannot express; no nor the first sight of life. There is no excellent beauty that hath not some strangeness in the proportion. A man cannot tell whether Apelles or Albert Durer were the more trifler; whereof the one would make a personage by geometrical proportions; the other, by taking the best parts out of divers faces, to make one excellent. Such personages, I think, would please nobody but the painter that made them. Not but I think a painter may make a better face than ever was; but he must do it by a kind of felicity,[3] (as a musician that maketh an excellent air in music,) and not by rule. A man shall see faces, that if you examine them part by part, you shall find never a good; and yet altogether do well. If it be true that the principal part of beauty is in decent motion, certainly it is no marvel though persons in years seem many times more amiable;[4] *pulchrorum autumnus pulcher;* [beautiful persons have a beautiful Autumn;] for no youth can be comely but by pardon, and considering the youth as to make up the comeliness.[5] Beauty is as summer fruits, which

[1] *venustas.*

[2] *decorus et gratiosus corporis et oris motus.*

[3] *felicitate quâdam et casu.* Keats seems to have felt that this is true also with regard to his own art:—

"When I behold upon the night's starred face
Huge cloudy symbols of a high romance,
And think that I may never live to trace
Their shadows, *with the magic hand of chance.*"

—*Life, Letters, &c. of John Keats*, vol. ii. p. 293.

[4] The translation adds: *Secundum illud Euripidis.*

[5] *Etenim fieri non potest ut juvenis per omnia decus tueatur, nisi forte juventutem ipsam ad supplementum decoris assumas.*

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are easy to corrupt, and cannot last; and for the most part it makes a dissolute youth, and an age a little out of countenance;[1] but yet certainly again, if it light well, it maketh virtue shine, and vices blush.

XLIV. Of Deformity.

Deformed persons are commonly even with nature;[2] for as nature hath done ill by them, so do they by nature; being for the most part (as the Scripture saith) *void of natural affection;* and so they have their revenge of nature.[3] Certainly there is a consent between the body and the mind; and where nature erreth in the one, she ventureth in the other. *Ubi peccat in uno, periclitatur in altero.* But because there is in man an election touching the frame of his mind, and a necessity in the frame of his body, the stars of natural inclination are sometimes obscured by the sun of discipline and virtue. Therefore it is good to consider of deformity, not as a sign, which is more deceivable; but as a cause, which seldom faileth of the effect. Whosoever hath any thing fixed in his person that doth induce contempt, hath also a perpetual spur in himself to rescue and deliver himself from scorn. Therefore all deformed persons are extreme bold. First, as in their own defence, as being exposed to scorn; but in process of time by a general habit. Also it stirreth in them industry, and especially of this kind, to watch and observe the weakness

[1] *senectutem autem sero pœnitentem.*
[2] *naturam fere ulciscuntur.*
[3] This clause is omitted in the translation.

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of others, that they may have somewhat to repay. Again, in their superiors, it quencheth jealousy towards them, as persons that they think they may at pleasure despise: and it layeth their competitors and emulators asleep; as never believing they should be in possibility of advancement, till they see them in possession. So that upon the matter, in a great wit, deformity is an advantage to rising. Kings in ancient times (and at this present in some countries) were wont to put great trust in eunuchs; because they that are envious towards all are more obnoxious and officious towards one. But yet their trust towards them hath rather been as to good spials and good whisperers, than good magistrates and officers. And much like is the reason of deformed persons. Still the ground is, they will, if they be of spirit, seek to free themselves from scorn; which must be either by virtue or malice; and therefore let it not be marvelled if sometimes they prove excellent persons; as was Agesilaus, Zanger the son of Solyman, Æsop, Gasca President of Peru; and Socrates may go likewise amongst them; with others.

XLV. Of Building.

Houses are built to live in, and not to look on; therefore let use be preferred before uniformity, except where both may be had. Leave the goodly fabrics of houses, for beauty only, to the enchanted palaces of the poets; who build them with small cost. He that builds a fair house upon an ill seat, committeth himself to prison. Neither do I reckon it an ill seat only where the air is unwholesome; but likewise where the

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air is unequal; as you shall see many fine seats set upon a knap of ground, environed with higher hills round about it;[1] whereby the heat of the sun is pent in, and the wind gathereth[2] as in troughs; so as you shall have, and that suddenly, as great diversity of heat and cold as if you dwelt in several places. Neither is it ill air only that maketh an ill seat, but ill ways, ill markets: and, if you will consult with Momus,[3] ill neighbours. I speak not of many more; want of water; want of wood, shade, and shelter; want of fruitfulness, and mixture[4] of grounds of several natures; want of prospect; want of level grounds; want of places at some near distance for sports of hunting, hawking, and races; too near the sea, too remote; having the commodity of navigable rivers,[5] or the discommodity of their overflowing; too far off from great cities, which may hinder business, or too near them, which lurcheth all provisions,[6] and maketh every thing dear; where a man hath a great living laid together, and where he is scanted: all which, as it is impossible perhaps to find together, so it is good to know them, and think of them, that a man may take as many as he can;[7] and if he have several dwell-

[1] *in colliculo paululum elevato; sed cincto undique, more theatri, collibus altioribus.*

[2] *variis æstibus reciprocantur.*

[3] For an explanation of this allusion to Momus, about which there has been some controversy of late, I am indebted to Mr. Ellis. "In one of Æsop's fables," he writes, "Minerva makes a house; and Momus says it should have been on wheels, to get away from bad neighbours."

[4] That is, *want of* mixture. *Sterilitas soli, aut quod ex variis glebarum generibus minime commistum sit.*

[5] So in the original, and also in Ed. 1639. It seems as if *not* had dropped out; or as if *the* should be *no*. The translation has *commoditas nulla fluviorum navigabilium.*

[6] *quod victui necessaria absorbet.*

[7] *locus ubi quis latifundia ampla possideat, aut acquirere possit, et locus*

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ings, that he sort them so, that what he wanteth in the one he may find in the other. Lucullus answered Pompey well; who, when he saw his stately galleries, and rooms so large and lightsome, in one of his houses, said, *Surely an excellent place for summer, but how do you in winter?* Lucullus answered, *Why, do you not think me as wise as some fowl are, that ever change their abode towards the winter?*

To pass from the seat to the house itself; we will do as Cicero doth in the orator's art; who writes books *De Oratore*, and a book he entitles *Orator;* whereof the former delivers the precepts of the art, and the latter the perfection. We will therefore describe a princely palace, making a brief model thereof. For it is strange to see, now in Europe, such huge buildings as the Vatican and Escurial and some others be, and yet scarce a very fair[1] room in them.

First therefore, I say you cannot have a perfect palace, except you have two several sides;[2] a side for the banquet, as is spoken of in the book of Hester, and a side for the household; the one for feasts and triumphs, and the other for dwelling. I understand both these sides to be not only returns,[3] but parts of the front; and to be uniform without, though severally partitioned within; and to be on both sides of a great and stately tower in the midst of the front, that, as it were, joineth them together on either hand. I would have on the side of the banquet, in front, one only

contra ubi pennas extendere nequeat: quæ singula minime eo animo enumeramus ac si domus aliqua his incommodis omnibus vacare possit, verum ut tot ex illis evitemus quot evitari concedatur.

[1] *vere magnificam.*

[2] *nisi duas habeat portiones diversas.*

[3] *non ut latera domûs.*

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goodly room above stairs, of some forty foot high;[1] and under it a room for a dressing or preparing place at times of triumphs.[2] On the other side, which is the household side, I wish it divided at the first into a hall and a chapel, (with a partition between;) both of good state and bigness;[3] and those not to go all the length, but to have at the further end a winter and a summer parlour, both fair. And under these rooms,[4] a fair and large cellar sunk under ground; and likewise some privy kitchens, with butteries and pantries, and the like. As for the tower, I would have it two stories, of eighteen[5] foot high a piece, above the two wings; and a goodly leads upon the top,[6] railed with statua's interposed; and the same tower to be divided into rooms, as shall be thought fit.[7] The stairs likewise to the upper rooms, let them be upon a fair open newel, and finely railed in with images of wood, cast into a brass colour;[8] and a very fair landing-place at the top. But this to be, if you do not point any of the lower rooms for a dining place of servants. For otherwise you shall have the servants' dinner after your own: for the steam of it will come up as in a tunnel.[9] And so much for the front. Only I under-

[1] The translation raises it to fifty feet. *Eamque supra gradus ad quinquaginta pedes ad minus altam.*

[2] *et subter eam cameram item alteram, similis longitudinis et latitudinis; quæ apparatum et instructionem ad festa, ludos, et ejusmodi magnificentias, actores etiam dum se ornent et parent, commode recipiat.*

[3] *amplam et pulchram.*

[4] *atque subter hæc omnia (excepto sacello).*

[5] *quindecim.*

[6] *coöpertam plumbo, æquabili.*

[7] This clause is omitted in the translation.

[8] *gradus autem turris apertos esse, et in se revertentes, et per senos subinde divisos: utrinque statuis ligneis inauratis, vel saltem ænei coloris cinctos.*

[9] *verum cavendum ne locus ubi famuli comedant sit ad imum gradum, vel prope; si enim sit, ciborum nidor ascendet, tanquam in tubo quodam.*

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stand the height of the first stairs to be sixteen foot,[1] which is the height of the lower room.

Beyond this front is there to be a fair court, but three sides of it, of a far lower building than the front. And in all the four corners of that court fair staircases, cast into turrets, on the outside, and not within the row of buildings themselves. But those towers are not to be of the height of the front, but rather proportionable to the lower building.[2] Let the court not be paved, for that striketh up a great heat in summer, and much cold in winter. But only some side alleys, with a cross, and the quarters to graze, being kept shorn, but not too near shorn.[3] The row of return[4] on the banquet side, let it be all stately galleries: in which galleries let there be three, or five, fine cupolas in the length of it, placed at equal distance; and fine coloured windows of several works.[5] On the household side, chambers of presence and ordinary entertainments,[6] with some bed-chambers; and let all three sides be a double house, without thorough lights on the sides, that you may have rooms[7] from the sun, both for forenoon and afternoon. Cast it

[1] *viginti.*

[2] *turres extruantur, altitudinem laterum prædictorum nonnihil superantes, ad gradus quibus in superiora ascendatur capiendos; quæ turres non recipiantur in planum ædificii, sed extra promineant.*

[3] *Arca autem integra lapidibus latis quadrangulis minime substernatur; nam hujusmodi pavimenta cabrem molestum æstate, et similiter frigus asperum hyeme immittunt: sed habeat ambulacra, ex ejusmodi lapidibus, per latera tantum ædificii; et formam crucis ex iisdem in medio; cum quadris interpositis, quæ gramine vestiantur, detonso quidem, sed non nimis prope terram.*

[4] *latus universum areæ.*

[5] *ubi pingantur columnæ, imagines omnigenæ, flores, et similia.*

[6] *At latus ex parte familiæ, simul cum latere tertio e regione frontis, complectatur cameras præsentiales; et alias usûs ac decoris ordinarii.*

[7] *cubicula et cameræ.*

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also, that you may have rooms both for summer and winter; shady for summer, and warm for winter. You shall have sometimes fair houses so full of glass, that one cannot tell where to become to be out of the sun or cold. For inbowed windows, I hold them of good use; (in cities, indeed, upright[1] do better, in respect of the uniformity towards the street;) for they be pretty retiring places for conference; and besides, they keep both the wind and sun off; for that which would strike almost thorough the room doth scarce pass the window. But let them be but few, four in the court, on the sides only.[2]

Beyond this court, let there be an inward court, of the same square and height; which is to be environed with the garden on all sides;[3] and in the inside, cloistered on all sides, upon decent and beautiful arches, as high as the first story. On the under story, towards the garden, let it be turned to a grotta, or place of shade, or estivation. And only have opening and windows towards the garden; and be level upon the floor, no whit sunken under ground, to avoid all dampishness. And let there be a fountain, or some fair work of statua's in the midst of this court; and to be paved as the other court was. These buildings to be for privy lodgings on both sides; and the end[4] for privy galleries. Whereof you must foresee that one of them be for an infirmary,[5] if the prince or any special person should be sick, with chambers, bed-

[1] *ad planum ædificii, et minime protuberantes.*

[2] *duæ scilicet ex utroque latere areæ.*

[3] *horto per exterius circumcincta.*

[4] *latus transversum.*

[5] *curandum vero ut aliquæ, tam ex cameris et conclavibus, quam ex porticibus, designentur ad usum infirmorum.*

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chamber, antecamera, and recamera, joining to it.[1] This upon the second story. Upon the ground story,[2] a fair gallery, open, upon pillars; and upon the third story likewise, an open gallery,[3] upon pillars, to take the prospect and freshness of the garden. At both corners of the further side, by way of return,[4] let there be two delicate or rich cabinets, daintily paved, richly hanged, glazed with crystalline glass, and a rich cupola in the midst; and all other elegancy that may be thought upon.[5] In the upper gallery too, I wish that there may be, if the place will yield it, some fountains running in divers places from the wall, with some fine avoidances.[6] And thus much for the model of the palace;[7] save that you must have, before you come to the front, three courts. A green court plain, with a wall about it;[8] a second court of the same, but more garnished, with little turrets, or rather embellishments, upon the wall; and a third court, to make a square with the front, but not to be built, nor yet enclosed with a naked wall, but enclosed with tarrasses, leaded aloft, and fairly garnished, on the three sides; and

[1] *Habeant autem portiones singulæ ægris destinatæ*, (*ut moderni loquuntur*) Ante-Cameram, Cameram *ad cubile*, *et* Re-cameram.

[2] *At latus transversum solarii inferioris, versus hortum convertatur in porticum, spatiosum*, &c.

[3] *Rursus supra solarium tertium, ex omnibus tribus lateribus, statuantur porticus elegantes*, &c.

[4] *ad angulos duos lateris transversi in solario secundo.*

[5] *Sint autem conclavia illa rebus curiosis omnigenis et spectatu dignis referta.*

[6] *qui per secretos tubos iterum transeant.* The following sentence is inserted here in the translation: *Interior autem pars in solario superiore, versus aream, formetur in porticus et ambulacra, bene munita et obducta, ad usum convalescentium.*

[7] The translation adds: *nam de balneis et piscinis non loquor.*

[8] *Area viridis, gramine vestita, cum pariete in circuitu, et juxta parietem arboribus, ordine positis, sata.*

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cloistered on the inside, with pillars, and not with arches below.[1] As for offices, let them stand at distance, with some low galleries, to pass from them to the place itself.

XLVI. Of Gardens.

God Almighty first planted a Garden. And indeed it is the purest of human pleasures. It is the greatest refreshment to the spirits of man; without which buildings and palaces are but gross handyworks:[2] and a man shall ever see that when ages grow to civility and elegancy, men come to build stately sooner than to garden finely;[3] as if gardening were the greater perfection. I do hold it, in the royal ordering of gardens, there ought to be gardens for all the months in the year; in which severally things of beauty may be then in season.[4] For December, and January, and the latter part of November, you must take such things as are green all winter:[5] holly; ivy;

[1] *sed ambulacris supra columnas, non arcus, erectis; in summitate vero plumbo vel lapide quadrato coöpertis, et ad latera elegantibus statuis parvis, æmei coloris, munitis clausam.*

[2] *manûs tantum sunt opera, nec sapiunt naturam.*

[3] *citius pervenire ad ædificiorum pulchritudinem quam ad hortorum elegantiam et amœnitatem.*

[4] *in quibus separatim plantæ quæ illo mense florent et vigent producantur.* The scene in the "Winter's Tale," where Perdita presents the guests with flowers suited to their ages, has some expressions which, if this Essay had been contained in the earlier edition, would have made me suspect that Shakespeare had been reading it. As I am not aware that the resemblance has been observed, I will quote the passages to which I allude in connexion with those which remind me of them.

[5] Reverend Sirs,
For you there's Rosemary and Rue; these keep
Seeming and savour all the winter long.
Grace and Remembrance be to you both,
And welcome to our shearing.

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bays; juniper; cypress-trees; yew; pine-apple-trees;[1] fir-trees; rosemary; lavender; periwinkle, the white, the purple, and the blue; germander; flags;[2] orange-trees; lemon-trees; and myrtles, if they be stoved; and sweet marjoram, warm set.[3] There followeth, for the latter part of January and February, the mezereon-tree, which then blossoms; crocus vernus, both the yellow and the grey; primroses; anemones; the early tulippa; hyacinthus orientalis; chamaïris; fritellaria. For March, there come violets, specially the single blue, which are the earliest; the yellow daffodil;[4] the daisy; the almond-tree in blossom; the peach-tree in blossom; the cornelian-tree in blossom; sweet-briar. In April follow, the double white violet; the wall-flower; the stock-gilliflower; the cowslip; flower-de-lices, and lilies of all natures;[5] rosemary-flowers; the tulippa; the double piony; the pale daffodil;[6] the

Pol. Shepherdess,
(A fair one are you) well you fit our ages
With flowers of winter.

[1] In place of "pine-apple-trees," the translation has *buxus, pinus, abies.*
[2] *Irides quoad folia.*
[3] *juxta parietem et versus solem satus.*
[4] *pseudo-narcissus luteus.*

[5] Now, my fair'st friend,
I would I had some flowers o' the Spring, that might
Become your time of day . . . .
Daffodils,
That come before the swallow dares, and take
The winds of March with beauty: Violets (dim
But sweeter than the lids of Juno's eyes,
Or Cytherea's breath): pale Prime-roses,
That die unmarried, ere they can behold
Bright Phœbus in his strength . . . .
bold Oxlips, and
The Crown Imperial: Lilies of all kinds,
(The Flower-de-Luce being one).

[6] *narcissus verus.*

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French honeysuckle; the cherry-tree in blossom; the dammasin and plum-trees in blossom; the white thorn in leaf; the lilac-tree. In May and June come pinks of all sorts, specially the blush-pink; roses of all kinds, except the musk, which comes later; honeysuckles; strawberries; bugloss; columbine; the French marigold; flos Africanus;[1] cherry-tree in fruit; ribes; figs in fruit; rasps; vine-flowers; lavender in flowers; the sweet satyrian, with the white flowers; herba muscaria; lilium convallium; the apple-tree in blossom.[2] In July come gilliflowers of all varieties;[3] musk-roses; the lime-tree in blossom; early pears and plums in fruit; genitings, quadlins. In August come plums of all sorts in fruit; pears; apricocks; berberries; filberds; musk-melons; monks-hoods, of all colours. In September come grapes; apples; poppies of all colours; peaches; melocotones; nectarines; cornelians; wardens; quinces. In October and the beginning of November come services; medlars; bullaces; roses cut or removed to come late; holly-oaks; and such like. These particulars are for the climate of London; but my meaning is perceived, that you may have *ver perpetuum*, as the place affords.

[1] *Flos Africanus, simplex et multiplex.* The "French Marigold" is omitted in the translation.

[2] The translation adds; *flos cyaneus:* [the corn-cockle].

[3] Sir, the year growing ancient,
Not yet on Summer's death, nor on the birth
Of trembling Winter, the fairest flowers o' the season
Are our Carnations and streaked Gilly-vors
(Which some call Nature's bastards) . . . .
Here's flowers for you:
Hot Lavender, Mints, Savory, Marjoram,
The Mary-gold, that goes to bed wi' the Sun,
And with him rises, weeping: These are flowers
Of middle Summer, and I think they are given
To men of middle age.

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And because the breath of flowers is far sweeter in the air (where it comes and goes like the warbling of music) than in the hand, therefore nothing is more fit for that delight, than to know what be the flowers and plants that do best perfume the air.[1] Roses, damask and red,[2] are fast flowers of their smells; so that you may walk by a whole row of them, and find nothing of their sweetness; yea though it be in a morning's dew. Bays likewise yield no smell as they grow. Rosemary little; nor sweet marjoram. That which above all others yields the sweetest smell in the air,[3] is the violet, specially the white double violet, which comes twice à year; about the middle of April, and about Bartholomew-tide.[4] Next to that is the musk-rose. Then the strawberry-leaves dying, with a most excellent cordial smell.[5] Then the flower of the vines; it is a little dust, like the dust of a bent,[6] which grows upon the cluster in the first coming forth. Then sweet-briar. Then wall-flowers, which are very delightful to be set under a parlour or lower chamber window. Then pinks and gilliflowers,[7] specially the matted pink and clove gilliflower. Then the flowers of the lime-tree. Then the honeysuckles, so they be somewhat afar off.[8] Of bean-flowers I speak not,

[1] *quæ adhuc crescentes, nec avulsæ, maxime emittunt auras suaves, et aërem odore perfundunt.*

[2] *tam pallidæ quam rubeæ.*

[3] *suavissimo odore (crescens) imbuit.*

[4] *sub finem Augusti.*

[5] So Ed. 1639. The original has "which a most excellent cordial smell." Possibly it should be *which yield.* The translation has *quæ halitum emittunt plane cardiacum.*

[6] *qualis est in caule plantaginis.*

[7] The British Museum copy (see note at the end) omits *and gilliflowers.* The translation has *tum cariophyllatæ tam minores quam majores.*

[8] The translation adds *tum flores lavendulæ.*

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because they are field flowers. But those which perfume the air most delightfully, not passed by as the rest, but being trodden upon and crushed, are three; that is, burnet, wild-thyme, and watermints. Therefore you are to set whole alleys of them, to have the pleasure when you walk or tread.

For gardens (speaking of those which are indeed prince-like, as we have done of buildings), the contents ought not well to be under thirty acres of ground; and to be divided into three parts; a green in the entrance; a heath or desert[1] in the going forth; and the main garden in the midst; besides alleys on both sides. And I like well that four acres of ground be assigned to the green; six to the heath; four and four to either side; and twelve to the main garden. The green hath two pleasures: the one, because nothing is more pleasant to the eye than green grass kept finely shorn; the other, because it will give you a fair alley in the midst, by which you may go in front upon a stately hedge, which is to enclose the garden. But because the alley will be long, and, in great heat of the year or day, you ought not to buy the shade in the garden by going in the sun thorough the green, therefore you are, of either side the green, to plant a covert alley, upon carpenter's work, about twelve foot in height, by which you may go in shade into the garden. As for the making of knots or figures with divers coloured earths, that they may lie under the windows of the house on that side which the garden stands,[2] they be but toys: you may see as good sights many times in tarts. The garden is best to be square, encompassed on all the four sides with a stately

[1] *fruticetum sive eremum.* [2] This clause is omitted in the translation.

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arched hedge. The arches to be upon pillars of carpenter's work, of some ten foot high, and six foot broad; and the spaces between of the same dimension with the breadth of the arch. Over the arches let there be an entire hedge of some four foot high, framed also upon carpenter's work; and upon the upper hedge, over every arch, a little turret, with a belly, enough to receive a cage of birds: and over every space between the arches some other little figure, with broad plates of round coloured glass gilt, for the sun to play upon. But this hedge I intend to be raised upon a bank, not steep, but gently slope, of some six foot, set all with flowers. Also I understand, that this square of the garden should not be the whole breadth of the ground, but to leave on either side ground enough for diversity of side alleys; unto which the two covert alleys of the green may deliver you. But there must be no alleys with hedges at either end of this great enclosure; not at the hither end, for letting[1] your prospect upon this fair hedge from the green; nor at the further end, for letting[2] your prospect from the hedge through the arches upon the heath.

For the ordering of the ground within the great hedge, I leave it to variety of device; advising nevertheless that whatsoever form you cast it into, first,[3]

[1] *ne . . . impediat.*

[2] *ne . . . intercipiat.*

[3] My copy of Ed. 1625 has a comma after *first* and no comma after *into*. The copy in the British Museum has a comma after *into*, and no comma after *first*. So also Ed. 1639. The translation has *quæcunque ea tandem sit, nimis curiosa et operosa ne sit.* I suspect that the direction was to add the second comma and leave the first, and that it was misunderstood, or imperfectly executed; an accident which may easily happen, and would account for the occasional introduction of a change which could not have been intended.

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it be not too busy, or full of work. Wherein I, for my part, do not like images cut out in juniper or other garden stuff; they be for children. Little low hedges, round, like welts,[1] with some pretty pyramides, I like well; and in some places, fair columns upon frames of carpenter's work.[2] I would also have the alleys spacious and fair. You may have closer alleys upon the side grounds, but none in the main garden. I wish also, in the very middle, a fair mount, with three ascents, and alleys,[3] enough for four to walk abreast; which I would have to be perfect circles, without any bulwarks or embossments; and the whole mount to be thirty foot high; and some fine banqueting-house,[4] with some chimneys neatly cast, and without too much glass.

For fountains, they are a great beauty and refreshment; but pools mar all,[5] and make the garden unwholesome, and full of flies and frogs. Fountains I intend to be of two natures: the one that sprinkleth or spouteth water; the other a fair receipt of water,[6] of some thirty or forty foot square, but without fish, or slime, or mud. For the first, the ornaments of images gilt, or of marble, which are in use, do well: but the main matter is so to convey the water, as it never stay,[7] either in the bowls or in the cistern; that the water be never by rest discoloured, green or red or

[1] *instar fimbriarum.*

[2] *Columnas etiam, et pyramides altas, ex opere lignario, in aliquibus locis sparsas, sepibus vestitas, recipio.*

[3] *et tribus ambulacris.*

[4] *atque in vertice domicellus elegans extruatur.*

[5] *sed stagna et piscinæ exulent.*

[6] *unum qui aquam salientem verset et dispergat, cum crateribus suis; alterum nitidum aquæ puræ receptaculum,* &c.

[7] *ut perpetuo fluat, nec consistat.*

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the like; or gather any mossiness or putrefaction. Besides that, it is to be cleansed every day by the hand. Also some steps up to it, and some fine pavement about it, doth well. As for the other kind of fountain, which we may call a bathing pool, it may admit much curiosity[1] and beauty; wherewith we will not trouble ourselves: as, that the bottom be finely paved, and with images; the sides likewise; and withal embellished with coloured glass, and such things of lustre; encompassed also with fine rails of low statua's. But the main point is the same which we mentioned in the former kind of fountain; which is, that the water be in perpetual motion, fed by a water higher than the pool, and delivered into it by fair spouts, and then discharged away under ground, by some equality of bores, that it stay little.[2] And for fine devices, of arching water without spilling, and making it rise in several forms (of feathers, drinking glasses, canopies, and the like), they be pretty things to look on, but nothing to health and sweetness.

For the heath, which was the third part of our plot, I wish it to be framed, as much as may be, to a natural wildness. Trees I would have none in it,[3] but some thickets made only of sweet-briar and honeysuckle, and some wild vine amongst; and the ground set with

[1] The copy in the British Museum has a semicolon after *curiosity:* my copy has a comma. And as it has certainly been a change in the type, and not a variety in the impression or an alteration made by the hand, I am inclined to think that the Museum copy was a proof in which corrections were afterwards made.

[2] The translation adds: *ut maneat limpida.*

[3] The translation adds: *nisi quod, in aliquibus locis erigi præcipio arborum series, quæ in vertice ambulacra contineant, ramis arborum coöperta, cum fenestris. Subjaceat autem pars soli floribus odoris suavis abunde consita, qui auras in superius exhalent; alias fruticetum apertum esse sine arboribus velim.*

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violets, strawberries,[1] and primroses. For these are sweet, and prosper in the shade. And these to be in the heath, here and there, not in any order.[2] I like also little heaps, in the nature of mole-hills (such as are in wild heaths), to be set, some with wild thyme; some with pinks; some with germander, that gives a good flower to the eye; some with periwinkle; some with violets; some with strawberries; some with cowslips; some with daisies; some with red roses; some with lilium convallium; some with sweet-williams red; some with bear's-foot:[3] and the like low flowers, being withal sweet and sightly. Part of which heaps are to be with standards of little bushes pricked upon their top, and part without. The standards to be roses;[4] juniper; holly; berberries; (but here and there, because of the smell of their blossom;[5]) red currants; gooseberry; rosemary; bays; sweet-briar; and such like. But these standards to be kept with cutting, that they grow not out of course.[6]

For the side grounds, you are to fill them with variety of alleys, private, to give a full shade, some of them, wheresoever the sun be. You are to frame some

[1] *fragis præcipue.*

[2] *Dumeta autem, et ambulacra super arbores, spargi volumus ad placitum, non in ordine aliquo collocari.*

[3] *Helleboro flore purpureo.*

[4] *Pars autem cumulorum habeat in vertice frutices; ea sint rosa,* &c.

[5] *sed hæc rarior, propter odoris gravitatem dum floret.* The British Museum copy has a semicolon after *blossom* and no stop after *berberries* (or *beare-berries* as it is spelt): my copy has a semicolon after *beare-berries* and no stop after *blossom.* It is difficult to say which has been the alteration; for in the original setting of the type room for a semicolon does not seem to have been left in either place. Here (as before) I suspect the intention of the corrector was to insert the first without removing the second. The parenthesis certainly refers to the berberry; the blossom of which has an offensive smell, when too near.

[6] *ne deformiter excrescant.*

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of them likewise for shelter, that when the wind blows sharp, you may walk as in a gallery. And those alleys must be likewise hedged at both ends, to keep out the wind; and these closer alleys must be ever finely gravelled, and no grass, because of going wet. In many of these alleys likewise, you are to set fruit-trees of all sorts; as well upon the walls as in ranges. And this would be generally observed, that the borders wherein you plant your fruit-trees be fair and large, and low, and not steep;[1] and set with fine flowers, but thin and sparingly, lest they deceive[2] the trees. At the end of both the side grounds, I would have a mount of some pretty height, leaving the wall of the enclosure breast high, to look abroad into the fields.[3]

For the main garden, I do not deny but there should be some fair alleys ranged on both sides, with fruit-trees; and some pretty tufts of fruit-trees, and arbours with seats, set in some decent order;[4] but these to be by no means set too thick; but to leave the main garden so as it be not close, but the air open and free. For as for shade, I would have you rest upon the alleys of the side grounds, there to walk, if you be disposed, in the heat of the year or day; but to make account that the main garden is for the more temperate parts of the year; and in the heat of summer, for the morning and the evening, or overcast days.

For aviaries, I like them not, except they be of that

[1] *et molliter ascendens.*

[2] *succo defraudent.*

[3] *ad talem altitudinem parietis exterioris, ut in monticello stanti in agros pateat prospectus.*

[4] *ambulacra quædam, eaque minime angusta, arboribus fructiferis utrinque consita. Quin et arboreta aliqua, arborum fructiferarum prope consitarum; et umbracula artificiosa et bella cum sedibus ordine eleganti locata.*

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largeness as they may be turfed, and have living plants and bushes set in them; that the birds may have more scope, and natural nestling,[1] and that no foulness appear in the floor of the aviary.[2] So I have made a platform of a princely garden, partly by precept, partly by drawing, not a model, but some general lines of it;[3] and in this I have spared for no cost. But it is nothing for great princes, that for the most part taking advice with workmen,[4] with no less cost set their things together;[5] and sometimes add statua's, and such things, for state and magnificence, but nothing to the true pleasure of a garden.

XLVII. Of Negociating.

It is generally better to deal by speech than by letter; and by the mediation of a third than by a man's self. Letters are good, when a man would draw an answer by letter back again; or when it may serve for a man's justification afterwards to produce his own letter; or where it may be danger to be interrupted, or heard by pieces. To deal in person is good, when a man's face breedeth regard, as commonly with inferiors; or in tender cases,[6] where a man's eye upon the countenance of him with whom he speaketh may

[1] *ut aves liberius volitent, et se per diversa oblectare et componere possint.*

[2] The translation adds: *Quantum vero ad ambulacra in clivis et variis ascensibus amœnis conficienda, illa Naturæ dona sunt, nec ubique extrui possunt; nos autem ea posuimus quæ omni loco conveniunt.*

[3] *partim modulo generali, sed minime accurato.*

[4] *hortulanos.*

[5] *varia, parum cum judicio, componunt.*

[6] *in rebus quas extremis tantum digitis tangere convenit.*

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give him a direction how far to go; and generally, where a man will reserve to himself liberty either to disavow or to expound. In choice of instruments, it is better to choose men of a plainer sort, that are like to do that that is committed to them, and to report back again faithfully the success, than those that are cunning to contrive out of other men's business somewhat to grace themselves, and will help the matter in report[1] for satisfaction sake. Use also such persons as affect the business wherein they are employed; for that quickeneth much; and such as are fit for the matter; as bold men for expostulation, fair-spoken men for persuasion, crafty men for inquiry and observation, froward and absurd men for business that doth not well bear out itself.[2] Use also such as have been lucky, and prevailed before in things wherein you have employed them; for that breeds confidence, and they will strive to maintain their prescription. It is better to sound a person with whom one deals afar off, than to fall upon the point at first; except you mean to surprise him by some short question. It is better dealing with men in appetite, than with those that are where they would be. If a man deal with another upon conditions, the start or first performance is all;[3] which a man cannot reasonably demand, except either the nature of the thing be such, which must go before; or else a man can persuade the other party that he shall still need him in some other thing; or else that he be counted the honester man.[4] All practice[5] is to discover, or to work.

[1] *ea quæ referent verbis emollient.*
[2] *quæ aliquid iniqui habeat.*
[3] *prima velut occupatio aut possessio votorum in præcipuis numeranda.*
[4] *pro homine imprimis integro et verace.*
[5] *negotiatio.*

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Men discover themselves in trust, in passion, at unawares, and of necessity, when they would have somewhat done and cannot find an apt pretext. If you would work[1] any man, you must either know his nature and fashions, and so lead him; or his ends, and so persuade him; or his weakness and disadvantages, and so awe him; or those that have interest in him, and so govern him. In dealing with cunning persons, we must ever consider their ends, to interpret their speeches; and it is good to say little to them, and that which they least look for. In all negociations of difficulty, a man may not look to sow and reap at once; but must prepare business, and so ripen it by degrees.

XLVIII. Of Followers and Friends.

Costly followers are not to be liked; lest while a man maketh his train longer, he make his wings shorter. I reckon to be costly, not them alone which charge the purse, but which are wearisome and importune in suits. Ordinary followers ought to challenge no higher conditions than countenance, recommendation, and protection from wrongs. Factious followers are worse to be liked, which follow not upon affection to him with whom they range themselves, but upon discontentment conceived against some other; whereupon commonly ensueth that ill intelligence that we many times see between great personages. Likewise glorious followers, who make themselves as trumpets of the commendation of those they follow, are full of inconvenience; for they taint business through want of

[1] *si quem ad nutum fingere cupias, ut inde efficias aliquid.*

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secrecy;[1] and they export honour from a man,[2] and make him a return in envy. There is a kind of followers likewise which are dangerous, being indeed espials; which inquire the secrets of the house, and bear tales of them to others. Yet such men, many times, are in great favour; for they are officious, and commonly exchange tales. The following by certain estates of men, answerable to that which a great person himself professeth, (as of soldiers to him that hath been employed in the wars, and the like,) hath ever been a thing civil,[3] and well taken even in monarchies; so it be without too much pomp or popularity. But the most honourable kind of following is to be followed as one that apprehendeth to advance virtue and desert[4] in all sorts of persons. And yet, where there is no eminent odds in sufficiency, it is better to take with the more passable, than with the more able.[5] And besides, to speak truth, in base times active men are of more use than virtuous. It is true that in government it is good to use men of one rank equally: for to countenance some extraordinarily, is to make them insolent, and the rest discontent; because they may claim a due.[6] But contrariwise, in favour, to use men with much difference and election is good; for it maketh the persons preferred more thankful, and the rest more officious: because all is of favour.[7] It is good dis-

[1] *futilitate suâ.*

[2] The translation inserts, *si quis vere rem reputet.*

[3] *pro re decorâ habitum est.*

[4] *ut quis patronum se profiteatur eorum qui virtute et meritis clarent.*

[5] *præstat mediocribus patrocinari quam eminentioribus.*

[6] *quandoquidem ordinis paritas æquas gratiæ conditiones tanquam ex debito poscit.*

[7] *neque de hoc merito conqueratur quispiam, quum omnia ex gratia non ex debito prodeant.*

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cretion not to make too much of any man at the first; because one cannot hold out that proportion. To be governed (as we call it) by one, is not safe; for it shews softness, and gives a freedom to scandal and disreputation; for those that would not censure or speak ill of a man immediately, will talk more boldly of those that are so great with them, and thereby wound their honour. Yet to be distracted with many is worse; for it makes men to be of the last impression,[1] and full of change. To take advice of some few friends is ever honourable; *for lookers-on many times see more than gamesters; and*[2] *the vale best discovereth the hill.* There is little friendship in the world, and least of all between equals, which was wont to be magnified. That that is, is between superior and inferior, whose fortunes may comprehend the one the other.

XLIX. Of Suitors.

Many ill matters and projects are undertaken; and private suits do putrefy the public good. Many good matters are undertaken with bad minds; I mean not only corrupt minds, but crafty minds, that intend not performance. Some embrace[3] suits, which never mean to deal effectually in them; but if they see there may be life in the matter by some other mean, they will be content to win a thank, or take a second reward, or at least to make use in the mean time of the suitor's hopes. Some take hold of suits only for an occasion to

[1] *postremæ* (*ut nunc loquuntur*) *editionis.* Whence it would appear that the metaphor is from the printing-press.

[2] *atque* (*ut adagio dicitur*).

[3] *recipiunt et operam avide pollicentur.*

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cross some other; or to make an information[1] whereof they could not otherwise have apt pretext; without care what become of the suit when that turn is served; or, generally, to make other men's business a kind of entertainment to bring in their own. Nay some undertake suits, with a full purpose to let them fall; to the end to gratify the adverse party or competitor. Surely there is in some sort a right in every suit; either a right in equity, if it be a suit of controversy; or a right of desert, if it be a suit of petition. If affection lead a man to favour the wrong side in justice, let him rather use his countenance to compound the matter than to carry it. If affection lead a man to favour the less worthy in desert, let him do it without depraving or disabling the better deserver. In suits which a man doth not well understand, it is good to refer them to some friend of trust and judgment, that may report whether he may deal in them with honour: but let him choose well his referendaries, for else he may be led by the nose. Suitors are so distasted with delays and abuses, that plain dealing in denying to deal in suits at first, and reporting the success barely, and in challenging no more thanks than one hath deserved, is grown not only honourable but also gracious. In suits of favour, the first coming ought to take little place: so far forth consideration may be had of his trust,[2] that if intelligence of the matter could not otherwise have been had but by him, advantage be not taken of the note, but the party left to his other means; and in some sort recompensed for his discovery.[3] To be ignorant of the

[1] *ut aliquid obiter deferant et informent.*
[2] *fides in re illâ patefaciendâ.*
[3] *hoc ei fraudi non sit, sed potius remuneretur.*

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value of a suit is simplicity; as well as to be ignorant of the right thereof is want of conscience. Secrecy in suits is a great mean of obtaining; for voicing them to be in forwardness may discourage some kind of suitors, but doth quicken and awake others. But timing of the suit is the principal. Timing, I say, not only in respect of the person that should grant it, but in respect of those which are like to cross it. Let a man, in the choice of his mean, rather choose the fittest mean than the greatest mean; and rather them that deal in certain things, than those that are general.[1] The reparation of a denial is sometimes equal to the first grant;[2] if a man shew himself neither dejected nor discontented. *Iniquum petas ut æquum feras*, [Ask more than is reasonable, that you may get no less,] is a good rule, where a man hath strength of favour: but otherwise a man were better rise in his suit;[3] for he that would have ventured at first to have lost the suitor, will not in the conclusion lose both the suitor and his own former favour. Nothing is thought so easy a request to a great person, as his letter; and yet, if it be not in a good cause, it is so much out of his reputation. There are no worse instruments[4] than these general contrivers of suits; for they are but a kind of poison and infection to public proceedings.

[1] *atque eum potius adhibe qui paucioribus negotiis se immiscet, quam qui omnia complectitur.*

[2] *Denegatæ petitionis iteratio concessioni ipsi quandoque æquipollet.*

[3] *gradibus quibusdam ad id quod petis ascendere, et aliquid saltem impetrare.*

[4] *non invenitur in rebuspublicis pernicioseius hominum genus.*

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L. Of Studies.

Studies serve for delight, for ornament, and for ability.[1] Their chief use for delight, is in privateness and retiring; for ornament, is in discourse;[2] and for ability, is in the judgment and disposition of business.[3] For expert men can execute, and perhaps judge of particulars, one by one; but the general counsels, and the plots and marshalling of affairs, come best from those that are learned. To spend too much time in studies is sloth;[4] to use them too much for ornament, is affectation;[5] to make judgment wholly by their rules, is the humour of a scholar.[6] They perfect nature, and are perfected by experience: for natural abilities are like natural plants, that need proyning[7] by study; and studies themselves do give forth directions too much at large, except they be bounded in by experience. Crafty men contemn studies, simple men admire them, and wise men use them; for they teach not their own use; but that is a wisdom without them, and above them, won by observation. Read not to contradict and confute; nor to believe and take for granted; nor to find talk and discourse; but to weigh and consider.[8] Some books are to be tasted, others to

[1] *aut meditationum voluptati, aut orationis ornamento, aut negotiorum subsidio.*

[2] *in sermone tam familiari quam solemni.*

[3] *ut accuratiore judicio res et suscipiantur et disponantur.*

[4] *speciosa quædam socordia.* [5] *affectatio mera est quæ se ipsam prodit.*

[6] *de rebus autem ex regulis artis judicare, scholam omnino sapit, nec bene succedit.*

[7] So in the original. Compare *Sylva Sylvarum*, § 432.: "the lower boughs only maintained, and the higher continually *proined* off:" and again § 823.: "many birds do *proine* their feathers:" from which I suppose that it is not a misprint, but another form of the word.

[8] *sed ut addiscas, ponderes, et judicio tuo aliquatenus utaris.*

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be swallowed,[1] and some few to be chewed and digested; that is, some books are to be read only in parts; others to be read, but not curiously; and some few to be read wholly, and with diligence and attention. Some books also may be read by deputy, and extracts made of them by others;[2] but that would be only in the less important arguments, and the meaner sort of books; else distilled books are like common distilled waters, flashy things.[3] Reading maketh a full man; conference a ready man; and writing an exact man.[4] And therefore, if a man write little, he had need have a great memory; if he confer little, he had need have a present wit: and if he read little, he had need have much cunning, to seem to know that he doth not. Histories make men wise; poets witty; the mathematics subtile; natural philosophy deep; moral grave;[5] logic and rhetoric able to contend.[6] *Abeunt studia in mores.* [The studies pass into the manners.] Nay there is no stond or impediment in the wit, but may be wrought out by fit studies: like as diseases of the body may have appropriate exercises. Bowling is good for the stone and reins; shooting for the lungs and breast; gentle walking for the stomach; riding for head; and the like. So if a man's wit be wandering, let him study the mathematics; for in demonstrations, if his wit be called away never so little, he must begin again. If his wit be not apt to distinguish or find

[1] *quos deglutire cursimque legere oportet.*

[2] *eorumque compendia tantum desumere.*

[3] *penitus insipidi.*

[4] *scriptio autem, et notarum collectio, perlecta in animo imprimit et altius figit.*

[5] *gravitatem quandam morum conciliat.*

[6] *pugnacem reddit, et ad contentiones alacrem.*

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differences, let him study the schoolmen; for they are *cymini sectores*, [splitters of hairs.] If he be not apt to beat over matters,[1] and to call up one thing to prove and illustrate another, let him study the lawyers' cases. So every defect of the mind may have a special receipt.

LI. Of Faction.

Many have an opinion not wise, that for a prince to govern his estate, or for a great person to govern his proceedings, according to the respect of factions, is a principal part of policy; whereas contrariwise, the chiefest wisdom is either in ordering those things which are general, and wherein men of several factions do nevertheless agree; or in dealing with correspondence to particular persons, one by one.[2] But I say not that the consideration of factions is to be neglected. Mean men, in their rising, must adhere; but great men, that have strength in themselves,[3] were better to maintain themselves indifferent and neutral. Yet even in beginners, to adhere so moderately, as he be a man of the one faction which is most passable with the other, commonly giveth best way.[4] The lower and weaker faction is the firmer in conjunction; and it is often seen that a few that are stiff do tire out a greater number that are more moderate. When one of the factions is extinguished, the remaining subdivideth; as the faction

[1] *si quis ad transcursus ingenii segnis sit.*

[2] *in palpandis, conciliandis, et tractandis singulis.*

[3] *jam pridem honorem adeptis.*

[4] *ita caute adhærere, ut videatur quis alteri ex partibus addictus, et tamen parti adversæ minime odiosus, viam quandam sternit ad honores per medium factionum.*

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between Lucullus and the rest of the nobles of the senate (which they called *Optimates*) held out awhile against the faction of Pompey and Cæsar; but when the senate's authority was pulled down, Cæsar and Pompey soon after brake. The faction or party of Antonius and Octavianus Cæsar against Brutus and Cassius, held out likewise for a time; but when Brutus and Cassius were overthrown, then soon after Antonius and Octavianus brake and subdivided. These examples are of wars, but the same holdeth in private factions. And therefore those that are seconds in factions do many times, when the faction subdivideth, prove principals; but many times also they prove cyphers and cashiered; for many a man's strength is in opposition; and when that faileth he groweth out of use. It is commonly seen that men once placed take in with the contrary faction to that by which they enter: thinking belike that they have the first sure, and now are ready for a new purchase.[1] The traitor in faction lightly goeth away with it;[2] for when matters have stuck long in balancing,[3] the winning of some one man casteth them, and he getteth all the thanks. The even carriage between two factions proceedeth not always of moderation, but of a trueness to a man's self, with end to make use of both.[4] Certainly in Italy they hold it a little suspect in popes, when they have often in their mouth *Padre commune:*[5] and take it to be a sign of

[1] *ad novos amicos conciliandos se comparare.*

[2] *plerumque rem obtinet.*

[3] *tanquam in æquilibrio.*

[4] *sed ex consilio callido, quandoquidem proximus sibi quisque sit, atque ex utrâque factione utilitatem demetere speret.*

[5] *in suspicionem incurrit Papa, de quo vox illa in vulgus volitat,* Padre Commune.

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one that meaneth to refer all to the greatness of his own house. Kings had need beware how they side themselves, and make themselves as of a faction or party; for leagues within the state are ever pernicious to monarchies: for they raise an obligation paramount to obligation of sovereignty, and make the king *tanquam unus ex nobis* [like one of themselves]; as was to be seen in the League of France. When factions are carried too high and too violently,[1] it is a sign of weakness in princes; and much to the prejudice both of their authority and business. The motions of factions under kings ought to be like the motions (as the astronomers speak) of the inferior orbs, which may have their proper motions, but yet still are quietly carried by the higher motion of *primum mobile.*

LII. Of Ceremonies and Respects.[2]

He that is only real, had need have exceeding great parts of virtue; as the stone had need to be rich that is set without foil.[3] But if a man mark it well, it is in praise and commendation of men as it is in gettings and gains: for the proverb is true, *That light gains make heavy purses;* for light gains come thick, whereas great come but now and then. So it is true that small matters[4] win great commendation, because they are continually in use and in note: whereas the occasion of any great virtue cometh but on festivals.[5]

[1] *cum factiones manu forti et palam concertant.*
[2] *De Cæremoniis Civilibus, et Decoro.*
[3] *sine ornamento omni.*
[4] *exiguæ virtutes.*
[5] *raro admodum obtingit.*

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Therefore it doth much add to a man's reputation, and is (as queen Isabella[1] said) *like perpetual letters commendatory*, to have good forms. To attain them it almost sufficeth not to despise them; for so shall a man observe them in others; and let him trust himself with the rest. For if he labour too much to express them, he shall lose their grace; which is to be natural and unaffected. Some men's behaviour[2] is like a verse, wherein every syllable is measured; how can a man comprehend great matters, that breaketh his mind too much to small observations? Not to use ceremonies at all, is to teach others not to use them again; and so diminisheth respect to himself; especially they be not to be omitted to strangers and formal natures; but the dwelling upon them, and exalting them above the moon,[3] is not only tedious, but doth diminish the faith and credit of him that speaks.[4] And certainly there is a kind of conveying of effectual and imprinting passages amongst compliments,[5] which is of singular use, if a man can hit upon it. Amongst a man's peers a man shall be sure of familiarity; and therefore it is good a little to keep state. Amongst a man's inferiors one shall be sure of reverence; and therefore it is good a little to be familiar. He that is too much in anything, so that he giveth another occasion of satiety, maketh himself cheap. To apply one's self to others is good; so it be with demonstration that a man doth it upon regard,[6] and not upon facility. It is a good

[1] *Isabella, regina Castiliana.* [2] *vultus et gestus et externa alia.*
[3] *locutio hyperbolica (quali nonnulli utuntur).*
[4] *et pondus eorum quæ dicuntur.*
[5] *modus artificiosæ cujusdam insinuationis, in verbis ipsis, inter formulas communes, qui homines revera inescat et mirifice afficit.*
[6] *ex comitate et urbanitate.*

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precept generally in seconding another, yet to add somewhat of one's own: as if you will grant his opinion, let it be with some distinction; if you will follow his motion, let it be with condition; if you allow his counsel, let it be with alleging further reason. Men had need beware how they be too perfect in compliments;[1] for be they never so sufficient otherwise, their enviers will be sure to give them that attribute,[2] to the disadvantage of their greater virtues. It is loss also in business to be too full of respects, or to be curious in observing times and opportunities. Salomon saith, *He that considereth the wind shall not sow, and he that looketh to the clouds shall not reap.* A wise man will make more opportunities than he finds. Men's behaviour should be like their apparel, not too strait or point device, but free for exercise or motion.

LIII. Of Praise.

Praise is the reflexion of virtue. But it is as the glass or body which giveth the reflexion.[3] If it be from the common people, it is commonly false and naught; and rather followeth vain persons than virtuous. For the common people understand not many excellent virtues. The lowest virtues draw praise from them; the middle virtues work in them astonishment or admiration; but of the highest virtues they have no sense of perceiving at all. But shews, and *species vir-*

[1] *cæremoniis et formulis.*

[2] *audies tamen ab invidis, in nominis tui detrimentum,* urbanus *tantum et* affectator.

[3] *atque ut fit in speculis, trahit aliquid e natura corporis quod reflexionem præbet.*

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tutibus similes, serve best with them. Certainly fame is like a river, that beareth up things light and swoln, and drowns things weighty and solid. But if persons of quality and judgment concur,[1] then it is (as the Scripture saith), *Nomen bonum instar unguenti fragrantis;* [a good name like unto a sweet ointment.] It filleth all round about, and will not easily away. For the odours of ointments are more durable than those of flowers. There be so many false points[2] of praise, that a man may justly hold it a suspect. Some praises proceed merely of flattery; and if he be an ordinary flatterer, he will have certain common attributes, which may serve every man; if he be a cunning flatterer, he will follow the arch-flatterer, which is a man's self; and wherein a man thinketh best of himself, therein the flatterer will uphold him most: but if he be an impudent flatterer, look wherein a man is conscious to himself that he is most defective, and is most out of countenance in himself, that will the flatterer entitle him to perforce, *spretâ conscientiâ*. Some praises come of good wishes and respects,[3] which is a form due in civility to kings and great persons, *laudando præcipere;* when by telling men what they are, they represent[4] to them what they should be. Some men are praised maliciously to their hurt, thereby to stir envy and jealousy towards them; *pessimum genus inimicorum laudantium;* [the worst kind of enemies are they that praise;] insomuch as it was a proverb amongst the Grecians, that *he that was praised to his hurt, should*

[1] *cum vulgo concurrunt.*
[2] *conditiones fallaces.*
[3] *a voluntate bonâ cum reverentiâ conjunctâ proficiscuntur.*
[4] *humiliter moneas.*

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have a push rise upon his nose; as we say, *that a blister will rise upon one's tongue that tells a lie.* Certainly moderate praise, used with opportunity,[1] and not vulgar, is that which doth the good.[2] Salomon saith, *He that praiseth his friend aloud, rising early, it shall be to him no better than a curse.* Too much magnifying of man or matter doth irritate contradiction, and procure envy and scorn. To praise a man's self cannot be decent, except it be in rare cases; but to praise a man's office or profession, he may do it with good grace, and with a kind of magnanimity. The Cardinals of Rome, which are theologues, and friars, and schoolmen, have a phrase of notable contempt and scorn towards civil business: for they call all temporal business of wars, embassages, judicature, and other employments, *sbirrerie*, which is *under-sheriffries;* as if they were but matters for under-sheriffs and catchpoles: though many times those under-sheriffries do more good than their high speculations.[3] St. Paul, when he boasts of himself, he doth oft interlace, *I speak like a fool;* but speaking of his calling, he saith, *magnificabo apostolatum meum:* [I will magnify my mission.]

LIV. Of Vain-Glory.

It was prettily devised of Æsop; *the fly sat upon the axle-tree of the chariot wheel, and said, What a dust do I raise!* So are there some vain persons, that whatso-

[1] *tempestive irrogatos.*

[2] *honori vel maxime esse.*

[3] *ac si artes illæ memoratæ magis ejusmodi homines, quam in fastigio Cardinalatûs positos, decerent: et tamen (si res rite penderetur) speculativa cum civilibus non male miscentur.*

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ever goeth alone or moveth upon greater means,[1] if they have never so little hand in it, they think it is they that carry it. They that are glorious must needs be factious; for all bravery stands upon comparisons.[2] They must needs be violent, to make good their own vaunts. Neither can they be secret, and therefore not effectual;[3] but according to the French proverb, *Beaucoup de bruit, peu de fruit; Much bruit, little fruit.* Yet certainly there is use of this quality[4] in civil affairs. Where there is an opinion and fame to be created either of virtue or greatness, these men are good trumpeters. Again, as Titus Livius noteth in the case of Antiochus and the Ætolians, *There are sometimes great effects of cross lies;*[5] as if a man that negociates between two princes, to draw them to join in a war against the third, doth extol the forces of either of them above measure, the one to the other: and sometimes he that deals between man and man, raiseth his own credit with both, by pretending greater interest than he hath in either. And in these and the like kinds, it often falls out that somewhat is produced of nothing; for lies are sufficient to breed opinion, and opinion brings on substance. In militar[6] commanders and soldiers, vain-glory is an essential point;[7] for as iron sharpens iron, so by glory one courage sharpeneth another. In cases of great enterprise upon charge and

[1] *cum aliquid vel sponte procedit, vel manu potentiore cietur.*

[2] *nulla ostentatio sine comparatione sui est.*

[3] *ideoque opere ut plurimum destituuntur.*

[4] *hujusmodi ingeniis.*

[5] *mendacia reciproca, et ex utrâque parte.*

[6] So in the original. It is the form of the word which Bacon always (I believe) uses.

[7] *non inutile est.*

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adventure,[1] a composition of glorious natures doth put life into business; and those that are of solid and sober natures have more of the ballast than of the sail. In fame of learning, the flight will be slow without some feathers of ostentation. *Qui de contemnendâ gloriâ libros scribunt, nomen suum inscribunt.* [They that write books on the worthlessness of glory, take care to put their names on the title page.] Socrates, Aristotle, Galen, were men full of ostentation.[2] Certainly vain-glory helpeth to perpetuate a man's memory; and virtue was never so beholding to human nature, as it received his due at the second hand.[3] Neither had the fame of Cicero, Seneca, Plinius Secundus, borne her age so well,[4] if it had not been joined with some vanity[5] in themselves; like unto varnish, that makes ceilings not only shine but last. But all this while, when I speak of vain-glory, I mean not of that property that Tacitus doth attribute to Mucianus; *Omnium, quæ dixerat feceratque, arte quâdam ostentator:* [A man that had a kind of art of setting forth to advantage all that he had said or done:] for that proceeds not of vanity, but of natural magnanimity and discretion;[6] and in some persons[7] is not only comely, but gracious. For excusations, cessions, modesty itself well governed, are but arts of ostentation. And amongst those arts there is none better than that which Plinius Secundus

[1] *quæ sumptibus et periculo privatorum suscipiuntur.*

[2] (*magna nomina*) *ingenio jactabundo erant.*

[3] *Neque virtus ipsa tantum humanæ naturæ debet propter nominis sui celebrationem, quam sibi ipsi.*

[4] *ad hunc usque diem vix durasset, aut saltem non tam vegeta.*

[5] *vanitate et jactantiâ.*

[6] *ex arte et prudentiâ, cum magnanimitate quâdam conjunctâ.*

[7] *in aliquibus hominibus qui naturâ veluti comparati ad eam sunt.*

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speaketh of, which is to be liberal of praise and commendation to others, in that wherein a man's self hath any perfection. For saith Pliny very wittily, *In commending another you do yourself right; for he that you commend is either superior to you in that you commend, or inferior. If he be inferior, if he be to be commended, you much more; if he be superior, if he be not to be commended, you much less.* Glorious men are the scorn of wise men, the admiration of fools, the idols of parasites, and the slaves of their own vaunts.[1]

LV. Of Honour and Reputation.

The winning of Honour[2] is but the revealing of a man's virtue and worth without disadvantage. For some in their actions do woo and affect honour and reputation; which sort of men are commonly much talked of, but inwardly little admired. And some, contrariwise, darken their virtue in the shew of it; so as they be undervalued in opinion. If a man perform that which hath not been attempted before; or attempted and given over; or hath been achieved, but not with so good circumstance; he shall purchase more honour, than by effecting a matter of greater difficulty or virtue, wherein he is but a follower. If a man so temper his actions, as in some one of them he doth content every faction or combination of people, the music will be the fuller. A man is an ill husband of

[1] *parisitis prædæ et escæ; sibique ipsis et gloriæ vanæ mancipia.*

[2] *Honoris et existimationis vera et jure optimo acquisitio ea est, ut quis, &c.* Harl. MS. 5106. (for an account of which see Appendix No. II.) has "The true winning of honour:" which is probably the true reading.

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his honour, that entereth into any action, the failing wherein may disgrace him more than the carrying of it through can honour him. Honour that is gained and broken upon another[1] hath the quickest[2] reflexion, like diamonds cut with fascets.[3] And therefore let a man contend to excel any competitors of his in honour, in outshooting them, if he can, in their own bow. Discreet followers and servants help much to reputation.[4] *Omnis fama a domesticis emanat.* Envy, which is the canker of honour, is best extinguished by declaring a man's self in his ends rather to seek merit than fame; and by attributing a man's successes rather to divine Providence and felicity, than to his own virtue or policy. The true marshalling of the degrees of sovereign honour are these. In the first place are *conditores imperiorum*, founders of states and commonwealths; such as were Romulus, Cyrus, Cæsar, Ottoman, Ismael. In the second place are *legislatores*, lawgivers; which are also called *second founders*, or *perpetui principes*, because they govern by their ordinances after they are gone; such were Lycurgus, Solon, Justinian, Eadgar, Alphonsus of Castile, the wise, that made the *Siete partidas*. In the third place are *liberatores*, or *salvatores*,[5] such as compound the long miseries of civil wars, or deliver their countries from servitude of strangers or tyrants; as Augustus Cæsar, Vespasianus, Aurelianus, Theodoricus, King Henry the Seventh of England, King Henry the Fourth of France. In the fourth place are *propagatores* or *propugnatores imperii;* such as in honourable wars enlarge their ter-

[1] *qui comparativus est et alium prægravat.*
[2] *maxime vividam.*
[3] *cum angulis multiplicibus.*
[4] *Ita Q. Cicero.*
[5] *sive servatores patriarum suarum.*

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ritories, or make noble defence against invaders. And in the last place are *patres patriæ*, [fathers of their country;] which reign justly, and make the times good wherein they live. Both which last kinds need no examples, they are in such number. Degrees of honour in subjects are, first *participes curarum*, those upon whom princes do discharge the greatest weight of their affairs; their *right hands*, as we call them. The next are *duces belli*, great leaders; such as are princes' lieutenants, and do them notable services in the wars. The third are *gratiosi*, favourites; such as exceed not this scantling, to be solace to the sovereign, and harmless to the people. And the fourth, *negotiis pares;* such as have great places under princes, and execute their places with sufficiency. There is an honour, likewise, which may be ranked amongst the greatest, which happeneth rarely; that is, of such as sacrifice themselves to death or danger for the good of their country; as was M. Regulus, and the two Decii.

LVI. Of Judicature.

Judges ought to remember that their office is *jus dicere*, and not *jus dare;* to interpret law, and not to make law, or give law. Else will it be like the authority claimed by the church of Rome, which under pretext of exposition of Scripture doth not stick to add and alter; and to pronounce that which they do not find; and by shew of antiquity to introduce novelty. Judges ought to be more learned than witty, more reverend than plausible, and more advised than confident. Above all things, integrity is their portion and

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proper virtue. *Cursed* (saith the law) *is he that removeth the landmark.* The mislayer of a mere-stone is to blame. But it is the unjust judge that is the capital remover of landmarks, when he defineth amiss of lands and property. One foul sentence doth more hurt than many foul examples. For these do but corrupt the stream, the other corrupteth the fountain. So saith Salomon, *Fons turbatus, et vena corrupta, est justus cadens in causâ suâ coram adversario:* [A righteous man falling down before the wicked is as a troubled fountain or a corrupt spring.] The office of judges may have reference unto the parties that sue, unto the advocates that plead, unto the clerks and ministers of justice underneath them, and to the sovereign or state above them.

First, for the causes or parties that sue. *There be* (saith the Scripture) *that turn judgment into wormwood;* and surely there be also that turn it into vinegar; for injustice maketh it bitter, and delays make it sour. The principal duty of a judge is to suppress force and fraud; whereof force is the more pernicious when it is open, and fraud when it is close and disguised. Add thereto contentious suits, which ought to be spewed out, as the surfeit of courts. A judge ought to prepare his way to a just sentence, as God useth to prepare his way, by raising valleys and taking down hills: so when there appeareth on either side an high hand, violent prosecution, cunning advantages taken, combination, power, great counsel,[1] then is the virtue of a judge seen, to make inequality equal;[2] that

[1] *manum elatam, veluti in prosecutione importunâ, captionibus malitiosis, combinationibus, patrocinio potentum, advocatorum disparitate, et similibus.*

[2] *in æquandis iis quæ sunt inæqualia.*

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he may plant his judgment as upon an even ground. *Qui fortiter emungit, elicit sanguinem;* [Violent blowing makes the nose bleed;] and where the wine-press is hard wrought, it yields a harsh wine, that tastes of the grape-stone. Judges must beware of hard constructions and strained inferences; for there is no worse torture than the torture of laws. Specially in case of laws penal, they ought to have care that that which was meant for terror be not turned into rigour; and that they bring not upon the people that shower whereof the Scripture speaketh, *Pluet super eos laqueos;* for penal laws pressed are a *shower of snares* upon the people. Therefore let penal laws, if they have been sleepers of long, or if they be grown unfit for the present time, be by wise judges confined in the execution: *Judicis officium est, ut res, ita tempora rerum, &c.* [A judge must have regard to the time as well as to the matter.] In causes of life and death, judges ought (as far as the law permitteth) in justice to remember mercy; and to cast a severe eye upon the example, but a merciful eye upon the person.

Secondly, for the advocates and counsel that plead. Patience and gravity of hearing is an essential part of justice; and an overspeaking judge is no well-tuned cymbal. It is no grace to a judge first to find that which he might have heard in due time from the bar; or to show quickness of conceit in cutting off evidence or counsel too short; or to prevent information by questions, though pertinent. The parts of a judge in hearing are four: to direct the evidence; to moderate length,[1] repetition, or impertinency of speech; to recapitulate, select, and collate the material points of that

[1] *advocatorum et testium prolixitatem.*

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which hath been said; and to give the rule or sentence. Whatsoever is above these is too much; and proceedeth either of glory and willingness to speak, or of impatience to hear, or of shortness of memory, or of want of a staid and equal attention. It is a strange thing to see that[1] the boldness of advocates should prevail with judges; whereas they should imitate God, in whose seat they sit; who *represseth the presumptuous, and giveth grace to the modest.* But it is more strange, that judges should have noted favourites;[2] which cannot but cause multiplication of fees, and suspicion of bye-ways.[3] There is due from the judge to the advocate some commendation and gracing, where causes are well handled and fair pleaded; especially towards the side which obtaineth not; for that upholds in the client the reputation of his counsel, and beats down in him the conceit of his cause. There is likewise due to the public a civil reprehension of advocates, where there appeareth cunning counsel, gross neglect, slight information, indiscreet pressing, or an over-bold defence. And let not the counsel at the bar chop with the judge,[4] nor wind himself into the handling of the cause anew after the judge hath declared his sentence; but on the other side, let not the judge meet the cause half way, nor give occasion for the party to say his counsel or proofs were not heard.

Thirdly, for that that concerns clerks and ministers. The place of justice is an hallowed place; and therefore not only the bench, but the foot-pace and precincts and purprise thereof, ought to be preserved without scandal

[1] *quantum.*
[2] *advocatis quibusdam præ cæteris immoderate et aperte favere.*
[3] *corruptionis, et obliqui ad judices aditûs.*
[4] *obstrepat.*

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and corruption. For certainly *Grapes* (as the Scripture saith) *will not be gathered of thorns or thistles;* neither can justice yield her fruit with sweetness amongst the briars and brambles of catching and polling[1] clerks and ministers. The attendance of courts is subject to four bad instruments. First, certain persons that are sowers of suits; which make the court swell, and the country pine. The second sort is of those that engage courts in quarrels of jurisdiction, and are not truly *amici curiæ*, but *parasiti curiæ*, in puffing a court up beyond her bounds, for their own scraps and advantage. The third sort is of those that may be accounted the left hands of courts; persons that are full of nimble and sinister tricks and shifts, whereby they pervert the plain and direct courses of courts, and bring justice into oblique lines and labyrinths. And the fourth is the poller and exacter of fees; which justifies the common resemblance of the courts of justice to the bush whereunto while the sheep flies for defence in weather, he is sure to lose part of his fleece. On the other side, an ancient clerk, skilful in precedents, wary in proceeding,[2] and understanding in the business of the court, is an excellent finger of a court; and doth many times point the way to the judge himself.

Fourthly, for that which may concern the sovereign and estate. Judges ought above all to remember the conclusion of the Roman Twelve Tables; *Salus populi suprema lex;* [The supreme law of all is the weal of the people;] and to know that laws, except they be in order to that end, are but things captious, and oracles not well inspired. Therefore it is an happy thing

[1] *rapacium et lucris inhiantium.*
[2] *in actis ipsis concipiendis cautus.*

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in a state when kings and states do often consult with judges; and again when judges do often consult with the king and state: the one, when there is matter of law intervenient in business of state; the other, when there is some consideration of state intervenient in matter of law. For many times the things deduced to judgment may be *meum* and *tuum*, when the reason and consequence thereof may trench to point of estate: I call matter of estate, not only the parts of sovereignty,[1] but whatsoever introduceth any great alteration or dangerous precedent; or concerneth[2] manifestly any great portion of people. And let no man weakly conceive that just laws and true policy have any antipathy; for they are like the spirits and sinews, that one moves with the other. Let judges also remember, that Salomon's throne was supported by lions on both sides: let them be lions, but yet lions under the throne; being circumspect that they do not check or oppose any points of sovereignty. Let not judges also be so ignorant of their own right, as to think there is not left to them, as a principal part of their office, a wise use and application of laws. For they may remember what the apostle saith of a greater law than theirs; *Nos scimus quia lex bona est, modo quis eâ utatur legitime.* [We know that the law is good, if a man use it lawfully.]

[1] *intelligo autem ad rationes status pertinere, non solum si quid ad Jura Regalia impetenda spectet, verum etiam, &c.*

[2] *gravet.*

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LVII. Of Anger.

To seek to extinguish Anger utterly is but a bravery of the Stoics. We have better oracles: *Be angry, but sin not. Let not the sun go down upon your anger.* Anger must be limited and confined both in race and in time.[1] We will first speak how the natural inclination and habit to be angry may be attempered and calmed. Secondly, how the particular motions of anger may be repressed, or at least refrained from doing mischief. Thirdly, how to raise anger or appease anger in another.

For the first; there is no other way but to meditate and ruminate well upon the effects of anger, how it troubles man's life. And the best time to do this, is to look back upon anger when the fit is throughly over. Seneca saith well, *That anger is like ruin, which breaks itself upon that it falls.* The Scripture exhorteth us *To possess our souls in patience.* Whosoever is out of patience, is out of possession of his soul. Men must not turn bees;

. . . . . animasque in vulnere ponunt:

[that put their lives in the sting.]

Anger is certainly a kind of baseness;[2] as it appears well in the weakness of those subjects in whom it reigns; children, women, old folks, sick folks. Only men must beware that they carry their anger rather with scorn than with fear;[3] so that they may seem

[1] *et quousque et quamdiu.*

[2] *res humilis et infra dignitatem hominis.*

[3] *Itaque cum irasci contigerit, caveant homines (si modo dignitatis suæ velint esse memores) ne iram suam cum metu eorum quibus irascuntur, sed cum contemptu, conjungant.*

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rather to be above the injury than below it; which is a thing easily done, if a man will give law to himself in it.[1]

For the second point; the causes and motives of anger are chiefly three. First, to be too sensible of hurt; for no man is angry that feels not himself hurt; and therefore tender and delicate persons must needs be oft angry; they have so many things to trouble them, which more robust natures have little sense of. The next is, the apprehension and construction of the injury offered to be, in the circumstances thereof, full of contempt:[2] for contempt is that which putteth an edge upon anger, as much or more than the hurt itself. And therefore when men are ingenious in picking out circumstances of contempt, they do kindle their anger much. Lastly, opinion of the touch of a man's reputation[3] doth multiply and sharpen anger. Wherein the remedy is,[4] that a man should have, as Consalvo was wont to say, *telam honoris crassiorem*, [an honour of a stouter web.] But in all refrainings of anger, it is the best remedy to win time; and to make a man's self believe, that the opportunity of his revenge is not yet come, but that he foresees a time for it; and so to still himself in the mean time, and reserve it.

To contain anger from mischief, though it take hold of a man, there be two things whereof you must have special caution. The one, of extreme bitterness of words, especially if they be aculeate and proper; for

[1] *si quis iram suam paullulum regat et inflectat.*

[2] *si quis curiosus sit et perspicax in interpretatione injuriæ illatæ, quatenus ad circumstantias ejus, ac si contemptum spiraret.*

[3] *opinio contumeliæ, sive quod existimatio hominis per consequentiam lædatur et perstringatur.*

[4] *cui accedit remedium præsentaneum.*

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communia maledicta are nothing so much; and again, that in anger a man reveal no secrets; for that makes him not fit for society. The other, that you do not peremptorily break off, in any business, in a fit of anger; but howsoever you shew bitterness, do not act anything that is not revocable.

For raising and appeasing anger in another; it is done chiefly by choosing of times, when men are frowardest and worst disposed, to incense them. Again, by gathering (as was touched before) all that you can find out to aggravate the contempt. And the two remedies are by the contraries. The former to take good times,[1] when first to relate to a man an angry business; for the first impression is much; and the other is, to sever, as much as may be, the construction of the injury from the point of contempt; imputing it to misunderstanding, fear, passion, or what you will.

LVIII. Of Vicissitude of Things.

Salomon saith, *There is no new thing upon the earth.* So that as Plato had an imagination, *That all knowledge was but remembrance;* so Salomon giveth his sentence, *That all novelty is but oblivion.* Whereby you may see that the river of Lethe runneth as well above ground as below. There is an abstruse astrologer[2] that saith, *if it were not for two things that are constant, (the one is, that the fixed stars ever stand at like distance one from another, and never come nearer together, nor go further asunder; the other, that the diurnal motion*

[1] *tempora serena et ad hilaritatem prona.*
[2] *astrologus quidam abstrusus et parum notus.*

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perpetually keepeth time,) no individual would last one moment. Certain it is, that the matter is in a perpetual flux, and never at a stay. The great winding-sheets, that bury all things in oblivion, are two; deluges and earthquakes. As for conflagrations and great droughts, they do not merely dispeople and destroy.[1] Phaëton's car went but a day.[2] And the three years' drought in the time of Elias was but particular, and left people alive. As for the great burnings by lightnings, which are often in the West Indies, they are but narrow.[3] But in the other two destructions, by deluge and earthquake, it is further to be noted, that the remnant of people which hap to be reserved, are commonly ignorant and mountainous people, that can give no account of the time past; so that the oblivion is all one[4] as if none had been left. If you consider well of the people of the West Indies, it is very probable that they are a newer or a younger people than the people of the old world. And it is much more likely that the destruction that hath heretofore been there, was not by earthquakes (as the Ægyptian priest told Solon concerning the island of Atlantis, *that it was swallowed by an earthquake*), but rather that it was desolated by a particular deluge. For earthquakes are seldom in those parts. But on the other side, they have such pouring rivers, as the rivers of Asia and Africk and Europe are but brooks to them. Their Andes likewise, or mountains, are far higher than those with us; whereby

[1] *illæ populum penitus non absorbent aut destruunt.*

[2] *Fabula Phaëtontis brevitatem conflagrationis, ad unius diei tantum spatium, repræsentavit.*

[3] The translation adds: *Pestilentias etiam prætereo quia nec illæ totaliter absorbent.*

[4] *ut oblivio non minus omnia involvat.*

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it seems that the remnants of generation of men were in such a particular deluge saved.[1] As for the observation that Machiavel hath, that the jealousy of sects doth much extinguish the memory of things; traducing Gregory the Great, that he did what in him lay to extinguish all heathen antiquities; I do not find that those zeals do any great effects, nor last long; as it appeared in the succession of Sabinian, who did revive the former antiquities.[2]

The vicissitude or mutations in the Superior Globe are no fit matter for this present argument. It may be, Plato's great year, if the world should last so long, would have some effect; not in renewing the state of like individuals, (for that is the fume of those that conceive the celestial bodies have more accurate influences upon these things below than indeed they have,) but in gross.[3] Comets, out of question, have likewise power and effect over the gross and mass of things; but they are rather gazed upon, and waited upon in their journey, than wisely observed in their effects;[4] specially in their respective effects; that is, what kind of comet, for magnitude, colour, version of the beams, placing in the region of heaven,[5] or lasting, produceth what kind of effects.

There is a toy which I have heard, and I would not have it given over, but waited upon a little. They say

[1] *unde credibile est reliquias stirpis hominum apud eos post tale diluvium particulare conservatas fuisse.*

[2] The translation adds: *Tum vero prohibita, licet tenebris cooperta, obrepunt tamen et suas nanciscuntur periodos.*

[3] *in summis et massis rerum.*

[4] *Verum homines, ut nunc est, indiligentes, aut curiosi, circa eos sunt: eosque potius mirabundi spectant, atque itineraria eorundem conficiunt, quam effectus eorum prudenter et sobrie notant.*

[5] The translation adds: *tempestatis anni; semitæ aut cursûs.*

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it is observed in the Low Countries (I know not in what part) that every five and thirty years the same kind and suit of years and weathers comes about again;[1] as great frosts, great wet, great droughts, warm winters, summers with little heat, and the like; and they call it the *Prime.* It is a thing I do the rather mention, because, computing backwards, I have found some concurrence.[2]

But to leave these points of nature, and to come to men. The greatest vicissitude of things amongst men, is the vicissitude of sects and religions. For those orbs rule in men's minds most. The true religion is *built upon the rock;* the rest are tossed upon the waves of time. To speak therefore of the causes of new sects; and to give some counsel concerning them, as far as the weakness of human judgment can give stay to so great revolutions.

When the religion formerly received is rent by discords; and when the holiness of the professors of religion is decayed and full of scandal; and withal the times be stupid, ignorant, and barbarous; you may doubt the springing up of a new sect; if then also there should arise any extravagant and strange spirit to make himself author thereof.[3] All which points held when Mahomet published his law. If a new sect have not two properties, fear it not;[4] for it will not spread. The one is, the supplanting or the opposing of authority established; for nothing is more pop-

[1] *Similem annorum temperaturam, et tempestatem cœli, velut in orbem redire.*

[2] *Congruentiam, haud exactam sane, sed non multum discrepantem.*

[3] *præcipue si eo tempore ingenium quoddam intemperans et paradoxa spirans suboriatur.*

[4] *nova secta licet pullulet, duobus si destituatur adminiculis, ab eâ non metuas.*

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ular than that. The other is, the giving licence to pleasures and a voluptuous life. For as for speculative heresies, (such as were in ancient times the Arians, and now the Arminians,) though they work mightily upon men's wits, yet they do not produce any great alterations in states; except it be by the help of civil occasions.[1] There be three manner of plantations of new sects. By the power of signs and miracles; by the eloquence and wisdom of speech and persuasion; and by the sword. For martyrdoms, I reckon them amongst miracles; because they seem to exceed the strength of human nature: and I may do the like of superlative and admirable holiness of life. Surely there is no better way to stop the rising of new sects and schisms, than to reform abuses; to compound the smaller differences; to proceed mildly, and not with sanguinary persecutions; and rather to take off the principal authors by winning and advancing them, than to enrage them by violence and bitterness.

The changes and vicissitude in wars are many; but chiefly in three things; in the seats or stages of the war; in the weapons; and in the manner of the conduct. Wars, in ancient time, seemed more to move from east to west; for the Persians, Assyrians, Arabians, Tartars, (which were the invaders,) were all eastern people. It is true, the Gauls were western; but we read but of two incursions of theirs: the one to Gallo-Græcia, the other to Rome. But East and West have no certain points of heaven;[2] and no more have the wars, either from the east or west, any certainty of observation. But North and South are fixed;[3] and it

[1] *ex occasione motuum civilium.*
[2] *cœli climata non determinant.*
[3] *naturâ fixi.*

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hath seldom or never been seen that the far southern people have invaded the northern, but contrariwise. Whereby it is manifest that the northern tract of the world is in nature the more martial region: be it in respect of the stars of that hemisphere; or of the great continents that are upon the north, whereas the south part, for aught that is known, is almost all sea; or (which is most apparent) of the cold of the northern parts, which is that which, without aid of discipline, doth make the bodies hardest, and the courages warmest.[1]

Upon the breaking and shivering of a great state and empire, you may be sure to have wars. For great empires, while they stand, do enervate and destroy the forces of the natives which they have subdued, resting upon their own protecting forces; and then when they fail also, all goes to ruin, and they become a prey.[2] So was it in the decay of the Roman empire; and likewise in the empire of Almaigne, after Charles the Great, every bird taking a feather; and were not unlike to befal to Spain, if it should break. The great accessions and unions of kingdoms do likewise stir up wars: for when a state grows to an over-power, it is like a great flood, that will be sure to overflow. As it hath been seen in the states of Rome, Turkey, Spain, and others. Look when the world hath fewest barbarous peoples,[3] but such as commonly will not marry or generate, except they know means to live,[4] (as it is almost every where at this day, except Tartary,) there is

[1] The translation adds: *ut liquet in populo Araucensi; qui ad ulteriora Austri positi omnibus Peruviensibus fortitudine longe præcellunt.*

[2] *aliis gentibus in prædam cadunt.*

[3] *cum mundus nationibus barbaris minus abundat, sed civiliores fere sunt.*

[4] *nisi modum familiam alendi, aut saltem victum parandi, præviderint.*

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no danger of inundations[1] of people: but when there be great shoals of people, which go on to populate, without foreseeing means of life and sustentation, it is of necessity that once in an age or two they discharge a portion of their people upon other nations;[2] which the ancient northern people were wont to do by lot; casting lots what part should stay at home, and what should seek their fortunes. When a warlike state grows soft and effeminate, they may be sure of a war. For commonly such states are grown rich in the time of their degenerating; and so the prey inviteth, and their decay in valour encourageth a war.[3]

As for the weapons, it hardly falleth under rule and observation: yet we see even they have returns and vicissitudes. For certain it is, that ordnance[4] was known in the city of the Oxidrakes in India; and was that which the Macedonians called thunder and lightning, and magic. And it is well known that the use of ordnance[5] hath been in China above two thousand years. The conditions of weapons, and their improvement, are, First, the fetching afar off; for that outruns the danger;[6] as it is seen in ordnance and muskets. Secondly, the strength of the percussion; wherein likewise ordnance do exceed all arietations and ancient inventions. The third is, the commodious use of them; as that they may serve in all weathers;[7]

[1] *ab inundationibus aut migrationibus.*

[2] *portionem aliquam multitudinis suæ exonerent, et novas sedes quærant, et sic alias nationes invadant.*

[3] *animat gentes alias ad eosdem invadendos.*

[4] *tormenta ænea.*

[5] *pulveris pyrii et tormentorum igneorum.*

[6] *periculum ab hostili parte anticipat.*

[7] *id quod tormentis igneis majoribus etiam competit, quæ omnibus tempestatibus donea.*

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that the carriage may be light and manageable; and the like.

For the conduct of the war: at the first, men rested extremely upon number: they did put the wars likewise upon main force and valour; pointing days for pitched fields, and so trying it out upon an even match: and they were more ignorant in ranging and arraying their battles. After they grew to rest upon number rather competent than vast; they grew to[1] advantages of place, cunning diversions, and the like: and they grew more skilful in the ordering of their battles.

In the youth of a state, arms do flourish; in the middle age of a state, learning; and then both of them together for a time; in the declining age of a state, mechanical arts and merchandise. Learning hath his infancy, when it is but beginning and almost childish:[2] then his youth, when it is luxuriant and juvenile: then his strength of years, when it is solid and reduced:[3] and lastly, his old age, when it waxeth dry and exhaust.[4] But it is not good to look too long upon these turning wheels of vicissitude, lest we become giddy. As for the philology of them, that is but a circle of tales,[5] and therefore not fit for this writing.

[1] So in original. A word appears to have dropped out, such as *seek*, or something equivalent. The translation has *captabant.*

[2] *quando leviusculæ sunt, et pueriles.*

[3] *solidiores et exactiores.*

[4] The translation adds, *manente tamen garrulitate.*

[5] *Quatenus vero ad Philologiam, quæ in hoc argumento ut plurimum versatur, nihil aliud est quam narratiuncularum et observationum futilium congerics quædam.*

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NOTE.

In speaking of the original edition, I have referred to a copy in my own possession; from which the title is copied. I have since found that there is a copy in the British Museum bearing the same date, but not in all respects the same. In the titlepage, instead of *newly enlarged*, it has *newly written*. It professes to be "printed by John Haviland, for Hanna Barret," omitting the name of Richard Whittaker, and the words which follow. In the text, it is difficult even on a careful examination to detect any differences whatever. But upon referring to the passages in which I had noticed an error, or a doubt, or a variety of reading, I find that in three of them it differs from my copy. In p. 146. it has *children* not *child:* in p. 167. *flower* not *flowers:* in p. 219. *game* not *gaine*. One or two other variations which occur in the later essays I have noticed in their places. Of these copies, one must certainly have been a proof in which corrections were afterwards made. And the fact that all the later editions have "newly enlarged" in the titlepage, instead of "newly written," favours the supposition that mine is the corrected copy. That in some cases (as for instance in pages 167. and 219.) the reading of the other copy is unquestionably the right one, may possibly be explained by accidents of the press. The last letter in *flowers* may have failed to take the ink; the *m* in *game* may have been injured, and being mistaken for an imperfect *in* may have been replaced by a perfect *in*.

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APPENDIX TO THE ESSAYS.

I.

A Fragment of an Essay on Fame.[1]

The poets make Fame a monster. They describe her in part finely and elegantly; and in part gravely and sententiously. They say, look how many feathers she hath, so many eyes she hath underneath; so many tongues; so many voices; she pricks up so many ears.

This is a flourish. There follow excellent parables; as that she gathereth strength in going: that she goeth upon the ground, and yet hideth her head in the clouds: that in the day-time she sitteth in a watch tower, and flieth most by night: that she mingleth things done with things not done: and that she is a terror to great cities. But that which passeth all the rest is; they do recount that the Earth, mother of the Giants that made war against Jupiter and were by him destroyed, thereupon in an anger brought forth Fame;

[1] This fragment was first published by Dr. Rawley, in the *Resuscitatio* (1657), p. 281. Though unfinished, therefore, it may be regarded as a genuine and undoubted work of Bacon's, as far as it goes. Two other Essays, which have been ascribed to Bacon upon very doubtful authority (and at least one of them in my opinion very improbably), will be printed by themselves at the end of this Appendix.

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for certain it is that rebels, figured by the giants, and seditious fames and libels, are but brothers and sisters; masculine and feminine. But now, if a man can tame this monster, and bring her to feed at the hand, and govern her, and with her fly other ravening fowl and kill them, it is somewhat worth. But we are infected with the stile of the poets. To speak now in a sad and a serious manner. There is not in all the politics a place less handled, and more worthy to be handled, than this of fame. We will therefore speak of these points. What are false fames; and what are true fames; and how they may be best discerned; how fames may be sown and raised; how they may be spread and multiplied; and how they may be checked and laid dead. And other things concerning the nature of fame. Fame is of that force, as there is scarcely any great action wherein it hath not a great part; especially in the war. Mucianus undid Vitellius, by a fame that he scattered, that Vitellius had in purpose to remove the legions of Syria into Germany, and the legions of Germany into Syria; whereupon the legions of Syria were infinitely inflamed. Julius Cæsar took Pompey unprovided, and laid asleep his industry and preparations, by a fame that he cunningly gave out, how Cæsar's own soldiers loved him not; and being wearied with wars, and laden with the spoils of Gaul, would forsake him as soon as he came into Italy. Livia settled all things for the succession of her son Tiberius, by continual giving out that her husband Augustus was upon recovery and amendment. And it is an usual thing with the Bashaws, to conceal the death of the great Turk from the Janizaries and men of war, to save the sacking of Constantinople and other towns, as

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their manner is. Themistocles made Xerxes King of Persia post apace out of Græcia, by giving out that the Grecians had a purpose to break his bridge of ships which he had made athwart Hellespont. There be a thousand such like examples, and the more they are, the less they need to be repeated; because a man meeteth with them every where. Therefore let all wise governors have as great a watch and care over fames, as they have of the actions and designs themselves.

The rest was not finished.

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II.

Early Editions of the Essays.

Bacon's Essays in their earliest shape formed part of a very small octavo volume, published in 1597, with the following title: *Essayes. Religious Meditations. Places of perswasion and disswasion. Seene and allowed. At London, Printed for Humfrey Hooper, and are to be sold at the blacke Beare in Chauncery Lane.* 1597.

The *Religious meditations* and the *Places of perswasion and disswasion* refer to two other works; one in Latin, entitled *Meditationes sacræ:* the other in English, entitled *Of the Coulers of Good and Evill; a fragment.* These will be printed elsewhere.

The "Epistle Dedicatory" prefixed to the volume is dated the 30th of January, 1597; which in the case of an ordinary letter would be understood to mean 1597-8. But I suppose that publishers, who like to have fresh dates on their titlepages, followed the "historical" year, which was reckoned from the 1st of January, and not the "civil," which was reckoned from the 25th of March. For I find in the Lambeth library, the following rough draft of a letter from Anthony Bacon to the Earl of Essex, docqueted "le 8me de février, 1596."

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"My singular good Lord.

"I am bold, and yet out of a most entire and dutiful love wherein my german brother and myself stand infinitely bound unto your Lordship, to present unto you the first sight and taste of such fruit as my brother was constrained to gather, as he professeth himself, before they were ripe, to prevent stealing; and withal most humbly to beseech your Lordship, that as my brother in token of a mutual firm brotherly affection hath bestowed by dedication the property of them upon myself, so your Lordship, to whose disposition and commandment I have entirely and inviolably vowed my poor self, and whatever appertaineth unto me, either in possession or right, — that your Lordship, I say, in your noble and singular kindness towards us both, will vouchsafe first to give me leave to transfer my interest unto your Lordship, then humbly to crave your honourable acceptance and most worthy protection. And so I must humbly take my leave.

I shall now give a correct reprint of the Essays, as they appeared in this first edition; preserving, by way of specimen, the original orthography and punctuation. I take it from the copy in the British Museum; a copy which appears by a memorandum on the titlepage to have been sold on the 7th of February, 39 Eliz. (*i. e.* 1596-7), for the sum of twenty pence.

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THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE.

To M. Anthony Bacon

his deare Brother.

Louing and beloued Brother, I doe nowe like some that haue an Orcharde il neighbored, that gather their fruit before it is ripe, to preuent stealing. These fragments of my conceites were going to print; To labour the staie of them had bin troublesome, and subiect to interpretation; to let them passe had beene to advēture the wrong they mought receiue by vntrue Coppies, or by some garnishment, which it mought please any that should set them forth to bestow upon them. Therefore I helde it best discreation to publish them my selfe as they passed long agoe from my pen, without any further disgrace, then the weaknesse of the Author. And as I did euer hold, there mought be as great a vanitie in retiring and withdrawing mens conceites (except they bee of some nature) from the world, as in obtruding them: So in these particulars I haue played my selfe the Inquisitor, and find nothing to my vnderstanding in them contrarie or infectious to

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the state of Religion, or manners, but rather (as I suppose) medicinable. Only I disliked now to put them out because they will be like the late new halfe-pence, which though the Siluer were good, yet the peeces were small. But since they would not stay with their Master, but would needes trauaile abroade, I haue preferred them to you that are next myself, Dedicating them, such as they are, to our loue, in the depth whereof (I assure you) I sometimes wish your infirmities translated uppon my selfe, that her Maiestie mought haue the seruice of so actiue and able a mind, & I mought be with excuse confined to these contemplations & studies for which I am fittest, so commende I you to the preseruation of the diuine Maiestie. From my Chamber at Graies Inne, this 30. of Ianuarie. 1597.

Your entire Louing brother.

Fran. Bacon.

ESSAIES.

1. *Of studie.*
2. *Of discourse.*
3. *Of Ceremonies and respects.*
4. *Of followers and friends.*
5. *Sutors.*
6. *Of expence.*
7. *Of Regiment of health.*
8. *Of Honour and reputation.*
9. *Of Faction.*
10. *Of Negociating.*

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ESSAIES.

Of Studies.

Studies serue for pastimes, for ornaments and for abilities. Their chiefe vse for pastime is in priuatenes and retiring; for ornamente is in discourse, and for abilitie is in iudgement. For expert men can execute, but learned men are fittest to iudge or censure.

¶ To spend too much time in them is slouth, to vse them too much for ornament is affectation: to make iudgement wholly by their rules, is the humour of a Scholler. ¶ They perfect *Nature*, and are perfected by experience. ¶ Craftie men continue[1] them, simple men admire them, wise men vse them: For they teach not their owne vse, but that is a wisedome without them: and aboue them wonne by observation. ¶ Reade not to contradict, nor to belieue, but to waigh and consider. ¶ Some bookes are to bee tasted, others to bee swallowed, and some few to bee chewed and disgested: That is, some bookes are to be read only in partes; others to be read, but cursorily, and some few to be read wholly and with diligence and attention.

[1] So in the original: corrected with a pen into *contemne* in the British Museum copy.

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¶ Reading maketh a full man, conference a readye man, and writing an exacte man. And therefore if a man write little, he had neede haue a great memorie, if he conferre little, he had neede haue a present wit, and if he reade little, hee had neede haue much cunning, to seeme to know that he doth not. ¶ Histories make men wise, Poets wittie: the Mathematickes subtle, naturall Phylosophie deepe: Morall graue, Logicke and Rhetoricke able to contend.

Of discourse.

Some in their discourse desire rather commendation of wit in being able to holde all arguments, then of iudgement in discerning what is true, as if it were a praise to know what might be said, and not what shoulde be thought. Some haue certaine Common places and Theames wherein they are good, and want varietie, which kinde of pouertie is for the most part tedious, and nowe and then ridiculous. ¶ The honourablest part of talke is to guide the occasion, and againe to moderate and passe to somewhat else. ¶ It is good to varie and mixe speech of the present occasion with argument, tales with reasons, asking of questions, with telling of opinions, and iest with earnest. ¶ But some thinges are priuiledged from iest, namely Religion, matters of state, great persons, any mans present businesse of importance, and any case that deserueth pittie. ¶ He that questioneth much shall learn much, and content much, specially if hee applie his questions to the skill of the person of whome he asketh, for he shal giue them occasion to please them-

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selues in speaking, and himselfe shall continually gather knowledge. ¶ If you dissemble sometimes your knowledge of that you are thought to knowe, you shall bee thought another time to know that you know not. ¶ Speech of a mans selfe is not good often, and there is but one case, wherin a man may commend himselfe with good grace, and that is in commending vertue in another, especially if it be such a vertue, as whereunto himselfe pretendeth. ¶ Discretion of speech is more then eloquence, and to speake agreably to him, with whome we deale is more thē to speake in good wordes or in good order. ¶ A good continued speech without a good speech of interlocution sheweth slownesse: and a good reply or second speech without a good set speech sheweth shallownesse and weaknes, as wee see in beastes that those that are weakest in the course are yet nimblest in the turne. ¶ To vse too many circumstances ere one come to the matter is wearisome, to use none at all is blunt.

Of Ceremonies and Respectes.

He that is onely reall had need haue exceeding great parts of vertue, as the stone had neede be rich that is set without foyle. ¶ But commonly it is in praise as it is in gaine. For as the prouerbe is true, *That light gaines make heauie Purses:* Because they come thicke, wheras great come but now and then, so it is as true that smal matters winne great commendation: because they are continually in vse and in note, whereas the occasion of any great vertue commeth but on holydaies. ¶ To attaine good formes, it sufficeth not to

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despise them, for so shal a man observe them in others, and let him trust himselfe with the rest: for if he care to expresse them hee shall leese their grace, which is to be naturall and vnaffected. Some mens behauiour is like a verse wherein euery sillable is measured. How can a man comprehend great matters that breaketh his minde too much to small obseruations? ¶ Not to vse Ceremonies at all, is to teach others not to vse them againe, and so diminish his respect; especially they be not to bee omitted to straungers and strange natures. ¶ Among a mans Peires a man shall be sure of familiaritie, and therefore it is a good title[1] to keepe state; amongst a mans inferiours one shall be sure of reuerence, and therefore it is good a little to be familiar. ¶ Hee that is too much in any thing, so that he give another occasion of satietie, maketh himselfe cheape. ¶ To applie ones selfe to others is good, so it be with demonstration that a man doth it upon regard, and not vpon facilitie. ¶ It is a good precept generally in seconding another: yet to adde somewhat of ones owne; as if you will graunt his opinion, let it be with some distinction, if you wil follow his motion, let it be with condition; if you allow his counsell, let it be with alleadging further reason.

Of followers and friends.

Costly followers are not to be liked, least while a man maketh his traine longer, hee make his wings shorter, I reckon to be costly not them alone which charge the purse, but which are wearysome and impor-

[1] So in the original: a mistake for "it is good a little."

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tune in sutes. Ordinary following ought to challenge no higher conditions then countenance, recommendation and protection from wrong.

¶ Factious followers are worse to be liked, which follow not vpon affection to him with whome they raunge themselues, but vpon discontentment conceiued against some other, wherevpon commonly insueth that ill intelligence that wee many times see between great personages. ¶ The following by certaine States answereable to that which a great person himselfe professeth, as of Souldiers to him that hath beene imployed in the warres, and the like hath euer beene a thing ciuile, and well taken euen in Monarchies, so it bee without too much pompe or popularitie. ¶ But the most honorable kind of following is to bee followed, as one that apprehendeth to aduance vertue and desert in all sortes of persons, and yet where there is no eminent oddes in sufficiencie, it is better to take with the more passable, then with the more able. In gouernment it is good to vse men of one rancke equally, for, to countenance some extraordinarily, is to make them insolente, and the rest discontent, because they may claime a due. But in fauours to vse men with much difference and election is good, for it maketh the persons preferred more thankefull, and the rest more officious, because all is of fauour. ¶ It is good not to make too much of any man at first, because one cannot holde out that proportion. ¶ To be gouerned by one is not good, and to be distracted with many is worse; but to take aduise of friends is ever honorable: *For lookers on many times see more then gamesters, And the vale best discouereth the hill.* ¶ There is little friendship in the worlde, and least of all betweene equals; which was

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wont to bee magnified. That that is, is betweene superiour and inferiour, whose fortunes may comprehend the one the other.

Of Sutes.

Manie ill matters are vndertaken, and many good matters with ill mindes. Some embrace Sutes which neuer meane to deale effectually in them. But if they see there may be life in the matter by some other meane, they will be content to winne a thanke or take a second reward. Some take holde of Sutes onely for an occasion to crosse some other, or to make an information wherof they could not otherwise have an apt precept,[1] without care what become of the Sute, when that turne is serued. Nay some vndertake Sutes with a full purpose to let them fall, to the ende to gratifie the adverse partie or competitor. ¶ Surely there is in sorte a right in euerie Sute, either a right of equitie, if it be a Sute of controuersie; or a right of desert, if it bee a Sute of petition. If affection leade a man to fauor the wrong side in iustice, let him rather vse his countenance to compound the matter then to carrie it. If affection lead a man to fauour the lesse worthy in desert, let him doe it, without deprauing or disabling the better deseruer. ¶ In Sutes a man doth not wel vnderstand, it is good to referre them to some friend of trust and iudgement, that may reporte whether he may deale in them with honor. ¶ Suters are so distasted with delaies and abuses, that plaine dealing in denying to deale in Sutes at first, and reporting the successe

[1] So in the original: a mistake, no doubt, for *pretext*.

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barely, and in challendging no more thankes then one hath deserued, is growen not only honourable but also gracious. ¶ In Sutes of fauor the first comming ought to take little place, so far forth consideration may bee had of his trust, that if intelligence of the matter coulde not otherwise haue beene had but by him, aduantage be not taken of the note. ¶ To be ignorant of the value of a Sute is simplicitie, as wel as to be ignorant of the right thereof is want of conscience. ¶ Secrecie in Sutes is a great meane of obtaining, for voicing them to bee in forwardnes may discourage some kinde of suters, but doth quicken and awake others. ¶ But tyming of the Sutes is the principall, tyming I saye not onely in respect of the person that shoulde graunt it, but in respect of those which are like to crosse it. ¶ Nothing is thought so easie a request to a great person as his letter, and yet if it bee not in a good cause, it is so much out of his reputation.

Of Expence.

Riches are for spending, and spending for honour and good actions. Therefore extraordinarie Expence must bee limited by the worth of the ocasion; for voluntarie vndoing may bee as well for a mans countrie as for the kingdome of heauen. But ordinarie expence ought to bee limited by a mans estate, and gouerned with such regard, as it be within his compasse, and not subiect to deceite and abuse of seruants, and ordered to the best shew, that the Bils maye be lesse then the estimation abroad. ¶ It is no basenes for the greatest to descend and looke into their owne estate. Some for-

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beare it not vpon negligence alone, but doubting to bring themselues into Melancholy in respect they shall finde it broken. But *woundes cannot bee cured without searching.* ¶ He that cannot looke into his owne estate, had neede both choose well those whom he imployeth, yea and change them after.[1] For new are more timerous and lesse subtle. ¶ In clearing of a mans estate hee may as well hurt himselfe in being too suddaine, as in letting it runne on too long, for hastie selling is commonly as disaduantageable as interest. ¶ He that hath a state to repaire may not despise small things; and commonly it is lesse dishonourable to abridge pettie charges then to stoupe to pettie gettings. ¶ A man ought warily to begin charges, which once begunne must continue. But in matters that returne not, he may be more magnificent.

Of Regiment of Health.

There is a wisdome in this beyond the rules of Phisicke. A mans owne obseruation what hee finds good of, and what he findes hurt of, is the best Physicke to preserve health. But it is a safer conclusion to say, This agreeth well with me, therefore I will continue it,[2] then this I finde no offence, of this therefore I may vse it. For strength of nature in youth passeth ouer many excesses, which are owing a man till his age. ¶ Discerne of the comming on of yeares, and thinke not to doe the same things still. ¶ Beware of any suddain change in any great point of diet, and if

[1] So in the original: a mistake for *often.*
[2] So in the original: it should be *not well,* and *not continue.*

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necessitie inforce it, fit the rest to it. ¶ To be free minded and chearefully disposed at howers of meate, and of sleepe, and of exercise, is the best precept of long lasting. ¶ If you flie Physicke in health altogether, it will be too strange to your body when you shall need it, if you make it too familiar, it will worke no extraordinarie effect when sicknesse commeth. ¶ Despise no new accident in the body, but aske opinion of it. ¶ In sicknesse respect health principally, and in health action. For those that put their bodies to indure in health, may in most sickenesses which are not very sharpe, be cured onelye with diet and tendring.

¶ Physitians are some of them so pleasing and conformable to the humours of the patient, as they presse not the true cure of the disease; and some other are so regular in proceeding according to Arte for the disease, as they respect not sufficiently the condition of the patient. Take one of a middle temper, or if it may not bee found in one man, compound two of both sorts, and forget not to cal as wel the best aquainted with your body, as the best reputed of for his facultie.

Of Honour and reputation.

The winning of Honour is but the reuealing of a mans vertue and worth without disadvantage, for some in their actions doe affect Honour and reputation, which sort of men are commonly much talked of, but inwardly little admired: and some darken their vertue in the shew of it, so as they be vnder-valewed in opinion. ¶ If a man performe that which hath not beene

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attempted before, or attempted and giuen ouer, or hath been atchieued, but not with so good circumstance, he shall purchase more Honour, then by effecting a matter of greater difficulty or vertue, wherein he is but a follower. ¶ If a man so temper his actions as in some one of them hee doe content euerie faction or combination of people, the Musicke will be the fuller. ¶ A man is an ill husband of his Honour that entereth into any action, the failing wherein may disgrace him more then the carrying of it through can Honour him. ¶ Discreete followers helpe much to reputation. ¶ Enuie which is the canker of Honour, is best extinguished by declaring a mans selfe in his ends, rather to seeke merite then fame, and by attributing a mans successes rather to diuine prouidence and felicitie then to his vertue or pollicie.

¶ The true Marshalling of the degrees of Soueraigne honour are these. In the first place are *Conditores*, founders of states. In the second place are *Legislatores* Law-giuers, which are also called second founders, or *Perpetui principes*, because they gouerne by their ordinances after they are gone. In the third place are *Liberatores*, such as compound the long miseries of ciuill warres, or deliver their countries from servitude of strangers or tyrants. In the fourth place are *Propagatores* or *Propugnatores imperii*, such as in honourable warres enlarge their territories, or make noble defence against Inuaders. And in the last place are *Patres patriæ*, which raigne justly and make the times good wherein they liue. Degrees of honour in subiects are first *Participes curarum*, those upon whome Princes doe discharge the greatest waight of their affaires, their *Right handes* (as we call them.) The

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next are *Duces belli*, great leaders, such as are Princes, Lieutenants, and do them notable services in the wars. The third are *Gratiosi*, fauorites, such as exceede not this scantling to bee sollace to the Soueraigne, and harmelesse to the people. And the fourth *Negotiis pares*, such as have great place vnder Princes, and execute their places with sufficiencie.

Of Faction.

Manie have a newe wisedome, indeed, a fond opinion; That for a Prince to gouerne his estate, or for a great person to governe his proceedings according to the respects of Factions, is the principal part of pollicie. Whereas contrariwise, the chiefest wisedome is either in ordering those things which are generall, and wherein men of severall Factions doe neuerthelesse agree, or in dealing with correspondence to particular persons one by one. But I say not that the consideration of Factions is to be neglected.

¶ Meane men must adheare, but great men that haue strength in themselues were better to maintaine themselues indifferent and neutrall; yet euen in beginners to adheare so moderatly, as he be a man of the one Faction, which is passablest with the other, commonly giveth best way. ¶ The lower and weaker Faction is the firmer in conjunction. ¶ When one of the Factions is extinguished, the remaining subdiuideth which is good for a second Faction. It is commonly seene that men once placed, take in with the contrarie faction to that by which they enter. ¶ The traitor in Factions lightly goeth away with it, for when mat-

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ters have stucke long in ballancing, the winning of some one man casteth them, and hee getteth al the thankes.

Of Negociating.

It is generally better to deale by speech then by letter, and by the mediation of a thirde then by a mans selfe. Letters are good when a man woulde drawe an answere by letter backe againe, or when it may serue for a mans iustification afterwards to produce his owne letter. To deale in person is good when a mans face breedes regard, as commonly with inferiours. ¶ In choyce of instruments it is better to choose men of a plainer sorte that are like to doe that that is committed to them; and to reporte backe againe faithfully the successe, then those that are cunning to contriue out of other mens businesse somewhat to grace themselues, and will helpe the matter in reporte for satisfactions sake.

¶ It is better to sound a person with whome one deales a farre off, then to fal vppon the pointe at first, except you meane to surprise him by some shorte question. ¶ It is better dealing with men in appetite then those which are where they would be. ¶ If a man deale with another vppon conditions, the starte or first performance is all, which a man can not reasonably demaunde, except either the nature of the thing be such which must goe before, or else a man can perswade the other partie that he shall still neede him in some other thing, or else that he bee counted the honester man. ¶ All practise is to discouer or to worke: men discouer themselues in trust, in passion, at vnwares and

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of necessitie, when they would haue somewhat donne, and cannot finde an apt precept.[1] If you would worke any man, you must either know his nature and fashions and so leade him, or his ends, and so winne him, or his weaknesses or disaduantages, and so awe him, or those that haue interest in him and so gouerne him. ¶ In dealing with cunning persons we must euer consider their endes to interpret their speeches, and it is good to say little to them, and that which they least looke for.

FINIS.

[1] So in the original: the second time the same mistake occurs. It should, of course, be *pretext*.

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Edition of 1612.

It is a fact very creditable to the reading public of those days, that a volume which offers no entertainment except solid observation, packed as close as possible and stripped of all ornament, was thrice reprinted within nine years after its first appearance, viz. in 1598, in 1604, and in 1606. It is doubtful however whether Bacon himself had anything to do with any of these editions; which are said to have been merely reprints, without addition or alteration, except some changes in the spelling, and the substitution of an English translation of the *Meditationes sacræ* for the original Latin.

The earliest evidence of additions and alterations which I have met with, is contained in a volume preserved among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, No. 5106.; a volume undoubtedly authentic; for it contains interlineations in Bacon's own hand; and transcribed some time between 1607, when Bacon became Solicitor-general, and 1612, when he brought out a new edition of the Essays with further additions and alterations. It is unluckily not quite perfect; one leaf at least, if not more, having been lost at the beginning; though otherwise in excellent preservation.

The titlepage, which remains, bears the following inscription, very handsomely written in the old English character, with flourished capitals: *The writings of Sr*

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Francis Bacon Knt. the Kinge's Sollicitor Generall: in Moralitie, Policie, and Historie.

It contains nothing but Essays; which stand in the following order: —

1. Of Friendship (the beginning wanting).
2. Of Wisdom for a Man's Self.
3. Of Nobility.
4. Of Goodness and Goodness of Nature.
5. Of Beauty.
6. Of Seeming Wise.
7. Of Regiment of Health.
8. Of Expences.
9. Of Ambition.
10. Of Ceremonies and Respects.
11. Of Studies.
12. Of Discourse.
13. Of Riches.
14. Of Followers and Friends.
15. Of Suitors.
16. Of Negociating.
17. Of Despatch.
18. Of Deformity.
19. Of Young Men and Age.
20. Of Faction.
21. Of Honour and Reputation.
22. Of Marriage and Single Life.
23. Of Parents and Children.
24. Of Great Place.
25. Of Empire.
26. Of Counsel.
27. Of Atheism.
28. Of Superstition.
29. Of Praise.
30. Of Nature in Men.
31. Of Custom and Education.
32. Of Fortune.
33. Of Death.
34. Of Seditions and Troubles.

Of these, two only are not to be found in the edition of 1612; viz. the twenty-first (which is included in the edition both of 1597 and 1625) and the thirty-fourth, which was not published till 1625, though an Italian translation of it had been given in Sir Tobie Matthew's *Saggi Morali*, in 1618. As this stands last in the volume, and the rest of the leaves are left blank, it is impossible to say whether it was transcribed at the same time with the rest, or added at a later period. But I cannot detect any difference in the hand-writing, the colour of the ink, or the general appearance of it.

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This last I have added at the end. The others I have compared with the copies in the edition of 1612; and although I have not thought it worth while to make an exact and perfect collation, I have marked all the more considerable variations between the two; so that by means of the table of contents which I have just given, and the foot-notes which follow, a full and particular account of the contents of the manuscript volume may be obtained.

The reprint of the edition of 1612, which I now subjoin, preserving (except in the case of mere misprints) the original orthography and punctuation, has been compared with two copies in my own possession, both of which have been corrected here and there with a pen, apparently by the same hand. The corrections being the same in both and made in the same way, I presume that they were inserted by Bacon's own direction: see note 1, p. 359.

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THE

ESSAIES

OF

SIR FRANCIS BACON KNIGHT

THE KINGS SOLLICITER GENERALL.

Imprinted at *London* by IOHN BEALE,

1612.

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THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE.

To my Loving Brother, Sir IOHN CONSTABLE Knight.

MY last Essaies I dedicated to my deare brother Master Anthony Bacon, *who is with God. Looking amongst my papers this vacation, I found others of the same Nature: which if I my selfe shall not suffer to be lost, it seemeth the World will not; by the often printing of the former. Missing my Brother, I found you next; in respect of bond both of neare alliance, and of straight friendship and societie, and particularly of communication in studies. Wherein I must acknowledge my selfe beholding to you. For as my businesse found rest in my contemplations; so my contemplations euer found rest in your louing conference and iudgement. So wishing you all good, I remaine*

Your louing brother and friend,

FRA. BACON.

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THE TABLE.

1. Of Religion.
2. Of Death.
3. Of Goodnes and goodnes of nature.
4. Of Cunning.
5. Of Marriage and single life.
6. Of Parents and Children.
7. Of Nobilitie.
8. Of Great place.
9. Of Empire.
10. Of Counsell.
11. Of Dispatch.
12. Of Loue.
13. Of Friendshippe.
14. Of Atheisme.
15. Of Superstition.
16. Of Wisdome for a Mans selfe.
17. Of Regiment of Health.
18. Of Expences.
19. Of Discourse.
20. Of Seeming wise.
21. Of Riches.
22. Of Ambition.
23. Of Young men and age.
24. Of Beautie.
25. Of Deformitie.
26. Of nature in Men.
27. Of Custome and Education.
28. Of Fortune.
29. Of Studies.
30. Of Ceremonies and respects.
31. Of Sutors.
32. Of Followers.
33. Of Negociating.
34. Of Faction.
35. Of Praise.
36. Of Iudicature.
37. Of vaine glory.
38. Of greatnes of Kingdomes.
39. Of the publike.
40. Of Warre and peace.

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ESSAIES.

1. Of Religion.

The quarrels, and diuisions for *Religion*, were euils vnknowne to the Heathen: and no maruell; for it is the true God that is the iealous God; and the gods of the Heathen were good fellowes. But yet the bonds of religious vnity, are so to be strengthened, as the bonds of humane society be not dissolued. *Lucretius* the Poet, when hee beheld the act of *Agamemnon*, indu-ring and assisting at the sacrifice of his daughter, concludes with this verse;

Tantũ relligio potuit suadere malorum.

But what would hee haue done, if he had knowne the massacre of *France*, or the powder treason of *England?* Certainly he would haue beene seuen times more Epicure and Atheist then he was. Nay, hee would rather haue chosen to be one of the Madmen of *Munster*, then to haue beene a partaker of those Counsels. For it is better that Religion should deface mens vnderstanding, then their piety and charitie; retaining reason onely but as an *Engine*, and *Charriot driuer* of cruelty, and malice. It was a great blasphemie, when the Diuell

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said; *I will ascend, and be like the highest:* but it is a greater blasphemie, if they make God to say; *I will descend, and be like the Prince of Darknesse:* and it is no better, when they make the cause of *Religion* descend, to the execrable accions of murthering of Princes, butchery of people, and firing of States. Neither is there such a sinne against the person of the holy Ghost, (if one should take it literally) as in stead of the likenes of a *Doue*, to bring him downe in the likenesse of a *Vulture*, or *Rauen;* nor such a scandall to their Church, as out of the Barke of Saint *Peter*, to set forth the flagge of a Barke of *Pirats* and *Assassins.* Therefore since these things are the common enemies of humane society; *Princes* by their power; *Churches* by their Decrees; and all learning, Christian, morall, of what soeuer sect, or opinion, by their *Mercurie* rod; ought to ioyne in the damning to Hell for euer, these facts, and their supports: and in all Counsels concerning Religion, that Counsell of the Apostle, would be prefixed, *Ira hominis non implet iustitiam Dei.*

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2. Of Death.

Men feare death, as Children feare to goe in the darke: and as that naturall feare in Children is encreased with tales; so is the other. Certainely the feare of death in contemplation of the cause of it, and the issue of it, is religious: but the feare of it, for it selfe, is weake. Yet in religious meditations there is mixture of vanitie, and of superstition. You shall reade in some of the *Friers* Bookes of Mortification, that a man should thinke with himselfe, what the paine

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is, if he haue but his fingers end pressed, or tortured; and thereby imagine what the paines of Death are, when the whole body is corrupted and dissolued: when many times, Death passeth with lesse paine, then the torture of a limme. For the most vitall parts are not the quickest of sence. And to speake as a *Philosopher* or naturall man, it was well said, *Pompa mortis magis terret, quàm mors ipsa.* Grones, and Conuulsions, and a discoloured face, and friends weeping, and Blackes and obsequies, and the like, shew death terrible. It is worthie the obseruing, that there is no passion in the minde of man so weake, but masters the feare of death; and therefore death is no such enemy, when a man hath so many followers about him, that can winne the combat of him. *Reuenge* triumphes ouer death, *Loue* esteems it not, *Honour* aspireth to it, deliuery from *Ignominy* chuseth it, *Griefe* flieth to it, *Feare* preoccupateth it: nay we see after *Otho* had slain himselfe, pitty (which is the tendrest of affections) prouoked many to die. *Seneca* speaketh of nicenesse: *Cogita quàm diù eadem feceris; Mori velle non tantùm fortis, aut miser, sed etiam fastidiosus potest.* It is no lesse worthy to obserue how little alteration in good spirits the approaches of death make: but they are the same till the last. *Augustus Cæsar* died in a complement, *Tiberius* in dissimulation, *Vespasian* in a iest, *Galba* with a sentence, *Septimus Seuerus* in dispatch;[1] and the like. Certainely the *Stoikes* bestowed too much cost vpon death, and by their great preparations made it appeare more fearefull. Better saith he, *Qui finem vitæ extremum inter munera ponat naturæ.* It is as naturall to die, as to bee borne; and to a little Infant perhaps, the one as painefull, as the other.

[1] The last clause is omitted in the MS.

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3. Of Goodnesse, and goodnes of Nature.

I take *goodnesse* in this sence, the affecting of the *Weale* of men, which is, that the *Græcians* call *Philanthropía;* for the word *humanitie* (as it is vsed) it is a little too light, to expresse it. *Goodnesse* I call the habite; and *goodnesse of Nature*, the inclination. This of all vertues, is the greatest: being the character of the *Deitie;* and without it, man is a busie, mischeuous, wretched thing: no better then a kind of vermine. *Goodnesse* answers to the *Theologicall* vertue *Charity*, and admits not excesse, but error. The *Italians*, haue an vngracious prouerbe, *Tanto buon, che val niente; So good, that he is good for nothing.* And one of the Doctors of *Italie*, *Nicholas Machiauel* had the confidence to put in writing, almost in plaine termes; *That the Christian faith had giuen vp good men in prey, to those that are tyrannicall and vniust;* which hee spake, because indeed there was neuer law, or sect, or opinion, did so much magnifie goodnes, as the *Christian religion* doth. Therefore to auoid the scandall, and the danger both; it is good to take knowledge of the errors of an habite so excellent. Seek the good of other men, but be not in bōdage to their faces or fancies: for that is but facility, and softnesse; which taketh an honest minde prisoner. Neither giue thou *Æsops* Cocke a *gem*, who would be better pleased and happier, if he had had a Barly corn. The example of God teacheth the lessō truly. He sendeth his raine, and maketh his sunne to shine vpon the iust, and vniust; but hee doth not raine wealth, nor shine honour[1] and vertues vpon men equally. Common benefits are to bee communicate

[1] *honors* in MS.

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with all, but peculiar benefits with choise. And beware how in making the portraiture, thou breakest the patterne. For *Diuinitie* maketh the loue of our selues the patterne, the loue of our neighbours but the *Portraiture. Sell all thou hast and giue it to the poore, and follow me;* but sell not all thou hast, except thou come and follow me; that is, except thou haue a vocation, wherein thou maiest doe as much good with little meanes, as with great: For otherwise in feeding the stremes, thou driest the fountaine. Neither is there onely a habite of goodnesse, directed by right reason: but there is in some men, euen in *nature*, a disposition towards it: as on the other side, there is a naturall malignity. For there bee that in their nature doe not affect the good of others: the lighter sort of malignitie, turneth but to a crossenesse, or frowardnesse, or aptnesse to oppose, or difficilnesse, or the like: but the deeper sort, to enuie and meere mischief. There be many *Misanthropi*,[1] that make it their practise to bring men to the bough, and yet haue neuer a tree for the purpose in their gardens, as *Timon* had.[1] Such dispositions are the very errors *of human nature:* and yet they are the fittest timber to make great Politiques of; like to knee-timber that is good for shippes that are ordained to be tossed, but not for building houses that shall stand firme.

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4. Of Cunning.

Wee take *Cunning* for a sinister or crooked *Wisdome:* and certainely there is a great difference be-

[1] The MS. omits the words "*Misanthropi*," and "as Timon had."

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tweene a cunning man, and a wise man: not onely in point of honesty, but in point of ability. There be that can pack the cards and yet cannot play well. So there are some, that are good in canuasses and factions, that are otherwise weake men. Againe, it is one thing to vnderstand persons, and another thing to vnderstand matters: for many are perfect in mens humors, that are not greatly capable of the reall part of businesse; which is the constitution of one, that hath studied men more then bookes. Such men are fitter for practise, then for counsell, and they are good but in their owne Alley; turne them to new men, and they haue lost their aime. So as the old rule to know a foole from a wise man; *Mitte ambos nudos ad ignotos & videbis;* doth scarse hold for them. Euen in businesse there are some that know the resorts and fals of busines, that cannot sinke into the maine of it: like a house that hath conuenient staires and entries, but neuer a faire roome. Therefore you shall see them finde out pretty looses in the conclusion, but are no waies able to examine or debate matters: and yet commonly they take aduantage of their inability, & would be thought wits of direction. Some build rather vpon abusing others, and as wee now say, putting trickes vpon them, then vpon soundnesse of their owne proceedings. But *Salomon* saith, *Prudens aduertit ad gressus suos: stultus diuertit ad dolos.* Very many are the differences betweene cunning and wisdome: and it were a good deed to set them downe: for that nothing doth more hurte in state then that cunning men passe for wise.

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5. Of Marriage and single life.

Hee that hath wife and children, hath giuen hostages to fortune. For they are impediments to great enterprises, either of vertue or mischief. Certainly the best works, and of greatest merit for the publike haue proceeded from the vnmarried, or childlesse men; which haue sought eternity in memory, and not in posterity; and which both in affection and means, haue married and endowed the publike. Yet some there are, that lead a single life whose thoughts doe ende with themselues, and doe account future times, impertinences. Nay there are some others, that esteeme wife & children, but as bils of charges. But the most ordinarie cause of a single life, is liberty; specially in certain self-pleasing & humorous minds, which are so sensible of euery restriction, as they wil go neere to thinke their girdles and garters to be bonds and shakles. Vnmarried men are best friends; best masters; best seruants; not alwaies best subiects; for they are light to run away; and almost all fugitiues are of that conditiō. A single life is proper for Churchmen. For charity wil hardly water the ground, where it must first fill a poole. It is indifferent for Iudges and Magistrates. For if they be facile & corrupt, you shall haue a seruant fiue times worse thē a wife. For Souldiers, I find the Generals commonly in their hortatiues, put men in minde of their wiues, and children: and I thinke the despising of marriage, amongst the Turkes, maketh the vulgar Souldier more base. Certainely, wife and children are a kinde of discipline of humanity: and single men are more cruell and hard-hearted: good to make seuere inquisitors. Graue natures led by

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custome, and therefore constant, are commonly louing husbands: as was said of *Ulisses; Vetulam prætulit immortalitati.* Chaste women are often proud and froward, as presuming vpon the merit of their chastity. It is one of the best bonds both of chastity & obedience in the wife; if shee thinke her husband wise; which shee will neuer doe, if shee finde him ielous. Wiues are young mens mistresses; companions for middle age; and old mens nurses. So as a man may haue a quarrel to marry when hee will; but yet hee was reputed one of the wise men, that made answere to the question; *When a man should marrie?* A young man not yet, an elder man not at all.

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6. Of Parents and Children.

The ioyes of *Parents* are secret, and so are their griefs and feares: they cannot vtter the one, nor they will not vtter the other. Children sweeten labors, but they make misfortunes more bitter: they increase the cares of life, but they mitigate the remembrance of death. The perpetuitie by generation, is common to beasts; but memorie, merit, & noble works are proper to men. They that are the first raisers of their house, are most indulgēt towards their children; beholding them, as the continuance, not only of their kind, but of their worke; and so both children and creatures. The difference of affection in parents towards their seuerall children, is many times vnequall; and sometimes vnworthy; specially in the mother; as *Salomon* saith; *A wise sonne reioiceth the Father, but an vngracious son shames the mother.* A man shall see where there is

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a house full of children, one, or two of the eldest respected, and the youngest made wantons; but in the middle, some that are as it were forgotten; who neuerthelesse prooue the best. The illiberality of Parents in allowance towards their children is an harmefull error: makes them base; acquaints thē with shifts, makes them sort with meane companie; and makes them surfet more, when they come to plenty. And therefore the proofe is best, when men keepe their authority towards their children, but not their purse. Men haue a foolish manner, both Parents, Schoolemasters, and seruants, in creating and breeding an emulation betweene brothers during childhood, which many times sorteth to discord when they are men, and disturbeth families. The *Italians* make little difference betweene children and nephewes, or neere kinsfolke: But so they be of the lumpe, they care not, though they passe not through their owne body: and to say truth, in nature it is much a like matter, in so much that wee see a nephewe sometimes resembleth an vncle, or a kinsman, more than his owne Parent, as the blood happens.

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7. Of Nobility.

It is a reuerend thing to see an ancient castle or building not in decay; or to see a faire timber tree sound & perfect: how much more to behold an ancient Noble familie, which hath stood against the waues and weathers of time. For new Nobility is but the act of power; but ancient Nobility is the act of time. The first raisers of *Fortunes* are commonly more vertuous, but lesse innocent, then their descendents. For there

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is rarely rising, but by a commixture of good and euil Arts. But it is reason the memorie of their vertues remain to their posterities, and their faults die with themselues. *Nobilitie* of Birth commonly abateth industrie: and hee that is not industrious, enuieth him that is: Besides noble persons, cannot goe much higher: And he that standeth at a stay when others rise, can hardly auoid motions of enuie. On the other side Nobility extinguisheth the passiue enuie in others towards them; because they are in possession of *Honour:* and *Enuy* is as the sunne beames, that beate more vpon a rising ground, then vpon a leuell. A great *Nobilitie* addeth maiesty to a *Monarch*, but diminisheth power: and putteth life and spirit into the people; but presseth their fortunes. It is well when nobles are not too great for *Soueraigntie*, nor for *Iustice;* and yet maintained in that height, as the insollency of inferiours may be broken vpon them, before it come on too fast vpon the maiestie of *Kings*. Certainely *Kings* that haue able men of their Nobility, shal find ease in imploying them; and a better slide in their businesse: For people naturally bend to them, as borne in some sort to command.

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8. Of great Place.

Men in great place, are thrice seruāts; seruants of the Soueraigne, or state; seruants of fame, and seruants of businesse. So as they haue no freedome, neither in their persons, nor in their actions, nor in their times. It is a strange desire to seeke power, and to lose liberty: or to seeke power ouer others, and to

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lose power ouer a mans selfe. The rising vnto place is laborious, and by paines men come to greater paines: and it is sometimes base, and by indignities men come to dignities: the standing is slippery; and the regresse is either a downefall, or at least an *Ecclipse;* which is a melancholy thing. Nay, retire, men cannot when they would, neither will they when it were reason; but are impatient of priuatenesse, euen in age and sicknesse, which require the shadow. Certainely, great persons had need to borrow other mens opinions, to think themselues happy: for if they iudge by their owne feeling, they cannot find it; but they if thinke with themselues, what other men thinke of them, and that other men would fain be as they are, then they are happy as it were by report, when perhappes they finde the contrarie within; for they are the first that finde their owne griefes, though they bee the last that finde their own faults. Certainely men in great fortunes are strangers to themselues, and while they are in the pussle of busines they haue no time to tend their health, either of body or mind. *Illi mors grauis incubat, qui notus nimis omnibus, ignotus moritur sibi.* In place there is licence to do good and euil: wherof the latter is a curse: for in euill the best condition is, not to wil; the second not to can. But power to doe good, is the true & lawfull end of aspiring. For good thoughts, (though God accept them) yet towards men are little better then good dreams: except they be put in Act; and that cannot be without power and place; as the vantage & commanding ground. Merit is the ende of mans motion; and conscience of merit is the accomplishment of mans rest. For if a man can in any measure be pertaker of *Gods Theater*, he shall like wise

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be pertaker of *Gods rest. Et cōuersus Deus vt aspiceret opera quæ fecerūt manus suæ vidit quod omnia essent bona nimis*, and then the *Sabbath.* In the discharge of thy place, set before thee the best examples; for imitation is a globe of precepts. And after a time, set before thee thine owne example, and examine thy self strictly, whether thou diddest not best at first. Reforme without brauery or scandall of former times and persons, but yet set it downe to thy selfe, as well to create good presidents, as to follow them. Reduce things to the first institution, and obserue wherein and how they haue degenerate; but yet aske counsell of both times; of the ancient time what is best; and of the latter time what is fittest. Seeke to make thy course[1] reguler, that men may know before hand what they may expect; but be not too positiue, and expresse thy selfe well when thou digressest from thy rule. Preserue the rights of thy place, but stir not questions of Iurisdiction: and rather assume thy right in silence and *de facto*, then voice it with claimes, and challenges. Preserue likewise the rights of inferiour places; and thinke it more honour, to direct in chiefe, then to be busie in al. Imbrace and inuite helpes, and intelligence touching the execution of thy place; and doe not driue away such as bring thee information, as medlers, but accept of them in good part. The vices of authority are chiefly foure. *Delaies*, *Corruptions*, *Roughnesse*, and *Facility*. For Delaies, giue easie accesse; keepe times appointed; go through with that which is in hand, & interlace not busines, but of necessity. For Corruptiō, do not only bind thine owne hands, or thy seruāts hands that may take; but bind the hands of

[1] The MS. has *courses*.

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them that should offer. For integrity vsed doth the one, but integrity professed & with a manifest detestation of bribery, doth the other. And auoid not only the fault, but the suspition. Whosoeuer is found variable and changeth manifestly, without manifest cause, giueth suspicion of corruption. A seruant or a fauourite if he be inward, and no other apparent cause of esteeme: is commonly thought but a by-way. For roughnes it is a needlesse cause of discontent. Seuerity breedeth feare, but roughnesse breedeth hate. Euen reproofes from authoritie, ought to bee graue and not taunting. As for facility, it is worse then bribery; for bribes come but now and then, but if importunitie, or idle respects leade a man, he shall neuer be without. As *Salomon* saith; *To respect persons is not good; for such a man will transgresse for a peece of bread.* It is most true that was anciently spoken; *A place sheweth the man:* and it sheweth some to the better, and some to the worse. *Omnium consensu capax imperij nisi imperasset*, saith *Tacitus* of *Galba;* but of *Vespasian* he saith, *Solus imperantium Vespasianus mutatus in melius:* Though the one was meant of sufficiency, the other of manners and affection. It is an assured signe of a worthy and generous spirit whom honor amends. For honour is or should be the place of *vertue;* and as in nature things moue violently to their place; and calmely in their place; so virtue in ambition is violent, in authority, setled and calme.[1]

[1] The two last words are not in the MS.

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9. Of Empire.

It is a miserable state of minde, to haue few things to desire, and many things to feare: and yet, that commonly is the case of Kings; who being at the highest, want matter of desire; which makes their mindes the more languishing, and haue many representations of perilles and shadowes, which makes their minds the lesse cleere. And this is one reason also of that effect, which the Scripture speaketh of; *That the Kings heart is inscrutable.* For multitudes of iealousies, and lacke of some predominant desire, that should marshall and put in order all the rest, maketh any mans heart hard to finde, or sound. Hence commeth it likewise that Princes many times make themselues desires, and set their hearts vpon toies; sometimes vpon a building; sometimes vpon an order; sometimes vpon the aduancing of a person; sometimes vpon obtaining excellency in some Arte, or feate of the hand: & such like things, which seeme incredible to those that know not the principle; *That the minde of man is more cheered and refreshed by profiting in small things, then by standing at a stay in great.* Therefore great and fortunate Conquerours in their first yeeres, turne melancholy and superstitious in their latter, as did *Alexander* the great, & in our memory *Charles* the fifth, and many others. For he that is vsed to goe forward, and findeth a stoppe, falleth out of his owne fauour. A true temper of gouernment is a rare thing: For both temper and distemper consist of contraries. But it is one thing to mingle contraries, an other to interchange them. The answer of *Apolonius* to *Vespasian* is full of excellent instruction. *Vespasian* asked him *What was* Neroes

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ouerthrow: hee answered; *Nero could touch and tune the Harpe well; But in gouernment sometimes he vsed to winde the pinnes too hie, and sometimes to let them downe too lowe.* And certain it is, that nothing destroieth authority, so much as the vnequal and vntimely interchange of pressing power and relaxing power. The wisdome of all these latter times, in Princes affaires, is rather fine deliueries, and shiftings of dangers and mischiefes when they are neere, then solide and grounded courses to keep them aloofe. But let men beware how they neglect and suffer matter of trouble to bee prepared: for no man can forbid the sparke, nor tell whence it may come. The difficultnesse in Princes businesse are many times great, but the greatest difficulty is often in their owne minde. For it is common with Princes (saith *Tacitus*) to will contradictories. *Sunt plerunque Regum voluntates vehementes & inter se contrariæ.* For it is the Solœcisme of power, to thinke to command the ende, and yet not to endure the meane. *Princes* are like to the heauenly bodies, which cause good or euill times; and which haue much veneration, but no rest.[1] All precepts concerning Kings are in effect, comprehended in those two remembrances. *Memento quod es homo*, and *Memento quod es Deus*, or *Vice dei:* The one to bridle their power, and the other their will.

[1] The rest is inserted in the margin of the MS. in Bacon's own hand: only that the words "or *vice Dei*" are omitted.

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10. Of Counsell.

The greatest trust betweene man,[1] is the trust of giuing coūsell. For in other confidences men commit the partes of their life, their lands, their goods, their child, their credit; some particuler affaire. But to such as they make their counsellors, they commit the whole; by how much the more they are obliged to all faith, and integrity. The wisest Princes need not thinke it any diminution to their greatnesse, or derogation to their sufficiency, to rely vpon counsell. God himselfe is not without: but hath made it one of the great names of his blessed Son, *The Counsellor*. *Salomon* hath pronounced, that *In Counsel is stabilitie.* Things will haue their first or second agitation; if they bee not tossed vpon the arguments of counsell, they will be tossed vpon the waues of *Fortune;* and be full of inconstancy, doing, and vndoing, like the reeling of a drunken man. *Salomons* sonne found the force of counsell, as his father saw the necessitie of it. For the beloued kingdome of God was first rent and broken by ill counsell; vpon which counsel there are set for our instruction, the two markes, whereby bad counsell is for euer best discerned, that it was young counsell for the persons, & violent counsell for the matter. The ancient times doe set forth in figure both the incorporation, and inseperable coniunction of counsell with *Kinges;* and the wise and politike vse of Counsell by *Kings:* the one, in that they say *Iupiter* did marrie *Metis* (which signifieth Counsell.) So as Soueraignty or authority is married to counsel. The other in that which followeth; which was thus,

[1] The MS. has "between man and man."

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They say after *Iupiter* was married to *Metis*, shee conceiu'd by him, and was with childe, but *Iupiter* suffered her not to stay till shee brought fourth, but eate her vp; whereby hee became with child and was deliuered of *Pallas*, armed out of his head. Which monstrous fable containeth a secret of *Empire:* How Kings are to make vse of their Counsell of state. That first they ought to referre matters to them, which is the first begetting, or impregnation; but when they are elaborate, moulded, and shaped in the wombe of their counsell and growe ripe, and ready to be brought fourth; that then they suffer not their counsel to go through, with the resolution and direction, as if it depended vpon thē; but take the matter back into their own hand, & make it appeare to the world, that the decrees and final directions (which because they come forth with prudēce, and power, are resembled to *Pallas* armed) proceeded from themselues: and not onely from their authority, but (the more to adde reputation to themselues) from their head and deuice. The inconueniences that haue beene noted in calling and vsing counsell, are three. First, the reuealing of affaires, whereby they become lesse secret. Secondly, the weakning of the authority of Princes, as if they were lesse of themselues. Thirdly, the danger of being vnfaithfully counselled, and more for the good of them that counsel, then of him that is counselled. For which inconueniences, the doctrine of *Italy*, and practise of *France*, hath introduced *Cabanet* counsels, a remedy worse then the disease.[1] But for secrecy,

[1] The MS. proceeds thus: "which hath tourned *Metis* the wife to *Metis* the mistresse, that is Councells of State to which Princes are [solemly]

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Princes are not bound to communicate all matters with all Councellors, but may extract and select. Neither is it necessarie, that hee that consulteth what hee should doe; should declare what hee will doe. But let *Princes* beware that the vnsecreting of their affaires come not from themselues. And as for *Cabanet* Counsell, it may be their *Mot*, *Plenus rimarum sum.* One futile person, that maketh it his glory to tell, will do more hurt, then manie that know it their dutie to conceale. For weakning of authority, the fable sheweth the remedy; neither was there euer Prince bereaved of his dependances by his Counsell, except where there hath been either an ouergreatnesse in one, or an ouerstrict combination in diuerse; for the last incōuenience that men will counsell with an eie to themselues. Certainlie, *Non inueniet fidem super terram* is meant of the nature of times, and not of all particuler persons. There bee that are in nature faithfull and sinceare, and plaine, and direct, not craftie and inuolued. Let Princes aboue all, draw to themselues such natures. Besides, counsels are not commonly so vnited, but that one keepeth Sentinell ouer an other. But the best remedie is, if *Princes* know their counsellors, as well as their Counsellors know them, *Principis est virtus maxima nosse suos.* And of the other side Councellors should not be too speculatiue into their Soueraignes person. The true composition of a Councellor, is rather to be skilfull in their Masters businesse, then in his nature: For then he is like to aduise him, and

marryed, to Councells of gracious persons recommended cheifly by [flattery and] affection."

The word "solemly" has a line drawn through it, and the words "flattery and" are inserted between the lines in Bacon's hand.

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not to feed his humor. It is of singuler vse to *Princes*, if they take the opinions of their Councell, both seperatly and together. For priuate opinion is more free, but opinion before others is more reuerent. In priuate, men are more bold in their own humors; and in consort, men are more obnoxious to others humours. Therefore it is good to take both, and of the inferiour sort rather in priuate to preserue freedome; of the greater rather in consort, to preserue respect.[1] It is in vain for *Princes* to take counsell concerning matters: if they take no counsell likewise concerning persons. For all matters are as dead images, and the life of the execution of affaires resteth in the good choise of persons. Neither is it enough to consult concerning persons, *secundum genera*, as in an *Idea*, or mathematicall description, what kind of person should be; but in *indiuiduo:* For the greatest errors, and the greatest iudgement are shewed in the choice of *Indiuiduals*.[2] It was truly said, *Optimi Consiliarij mortui.* Bookes will speake plaine, when Councellors blanch. Therefore it is good to be conuersant in them, specially the books of such as themselues haue beene Actors vpon the Stage.

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11. Of Dispatch.

Affected dispatch is one of the most dangerous things to businesse that can bee. It is like that which the *Physitians* call pre-digestion, or hasty digestion, which is sure to fill the bodie full of crudities and se-

[1] The two clauses "to preserve freedom," and to "preserve respect," are not in the MS.

[2] The Essay ends here in the MS.

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cret seedes of diseases. Therefore measure not dispatch by the times of sitting, but by the aduancement of the businesse. It is the care of some onely to come of speedily for the time, or to contriue some false periods of businesse, because they may seeme men of dispatch. But it is one thinge to make short by contracting; another by cutting off: and businesse so handled by peeces, is commonly protracted in the whole. I knew a wise man had it for a bie-word, when he saw men hasten to a conclusion; *Stay a little that wee may make an end the sooner.* On the other side, true dispatch is a rich thing: For time is the measure of businesse, as money is of wares: and businesse is bought at a deare hand where there is small dispatch. Giue good hearing to those that giue the first information in businesse; and rather direct them in the beginning, then interrupt them in the continuance of their speeches: For he that is put out of his owne order, will goe forward, and backwards, and be more tedious by parcels, then he could haue bin at once. But sometimes it is seene, that the *moderator* is more troublesome, then the *Actor.* Iterations are commonly losse of time; but there is no such gaine of time, as to iterate often the state of the question. For it chaseth away many a friuolous speech, as it is comming forth. Long and curious speeches are as fit for dispatch, as a Robe or Mantle with a long traine, is for race. Prefaces, and passages, and excusations, and other speeches of reference to the person, are great wastes of time, and though they seeme to proceede of modesty, they are brauery. Yet beware of being too materiall, when there is any impediment, or obstruction in mens will.[1] For preoccu-

[1] *wills* in MS.

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pation euer requireth preface: like a fomentation to make the vnguent enter. Above all things, order and distribution is the life of dispatch: so as the distribution bee not too subtill: For he that doth not diuide, will neuer enter well into businesse; and he that diuideth too much will neuer come out of it clearely. To chuse time, is to saue time, and an vnseasonable motion is but beating the aire. There bee three parts of businesse; the preparation, the debate, or examination, and the perfection. Whereof if you looke for dispatch, let the midle onely be the worke of many, and the first and last the worke of few. The proceeding vpon somewhat conceiued in writing, doth for the most part facilitate dispatch. For though it should bee wholly reiected, yet that Negatiue is more pregnant of a direction, then an indefinite; as ashes are more generatiue than dust.

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12. Of Love.

Love is the argument alwaies of *Comedies*, and many times of *Tragedies*. Which sheweth well, that it is a passion generally light, and sometimes extreme. Extreame it may well bee, since the speaking in a perpetuall *Hyperbole*, is comely in nothing, but *Loue*. Neither is it meerely in the phrase. For whereas it hath beene well said, that the *Arch-flatterer* with whom al the petty-flatters haue intelligence, is a Mans selfe, certainely the louer is more. For there was neuer proud Man thought so absurdly well of himselfe, as the louer doth of the person loued: and therefore it was well said, that it is impossible to loue, and to bee wise. Neither doth this weakenes appeare to others

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only, and not to the party loued, but to the loued most of all, except the loue bee reciproque. For it is a true rule, that loue is euer rewarded either with the reciproque, or with an inward and secret contempt. By how much the more, men ought to beware of this passion, which loseth not onely other things, but it selfe. As for the other losses, the Poets relation doth wel figure them: That hee that preferred *Helena*, quitted the gifts of *Iuno* and *Pallas*. For whosoeuer esteemeth too much of amorous affection, quitteth both riches and wisdome. This passion hath his flouds in the verie times of weakenesse; which are great prosperity, and great aduersitie. (though this latter hath beene lesse obserued) Both which times kindle loue and make it more feruent, and therefore shew it to be the childe of folly. They doe best that make this affection keepe quarter, and seuer it wholly from their serious affaires and actions of their life. For if it checke once with businesse, it troubleth Mens fortunes, and maketh Men, that they can no waies be true to their own endes.

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13. Of Friendship.

There is no greater desert or wildernes then to bee without true friends. For without friendship, society is but meeting. And as it is certaine, that in bodies inanimate, vnion strengthneth any naturall motion, and weakeneth any violent motion; So amongst men, friendship multiplieth ioies, and diuideth griefes. Therefore whosoeuer wanteth fortitude, let him worshippe *Friendship*. For the yoke of *Friendship* maketh the yoke of *fortune* more light. There bee some

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whose liues are, as if they perpetually plaid vpon a stage, disguised to all others, open onely to themselues. But perpetuall dissimulation is painfull; and hee that is all *Fortune*, and no *Nature* is an exquisite *Hierling*. Liue not in continuall smother, but take some friends with whom to communicate. It will unfold thy vnderstanding; it will euaporate thy affections; it will prepare thy businesse. A man may keepe a corner of his minde from his friend, and it be but to witnesse to himselfe, that it is not vpon facility, but vpon true vse of friendship that hee imparteth himselfe. Want of true friends, as it is the reward of perfidious natures; so is it an imposition vpon great fortunes. The one deserue it, the other cannot scape it. And therefore it is good to retaine sincerity, and to put it into the reckoning of *Ambition*, that the higher one goeth, the fewer true friends he shall haue. Perfection of friendship, is but a speculation. It is friendship, when a man can say to himselfe, I loue this man without respect of vtility. I am open hearted to him, I single him frō the generality of those with whom I liue; I make him a portion of my owne wishes.

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14. Of Atheisme.

I had rather beleeue all the fables in the *Legend*, and the *Alcaron*, then that this vniuersall frame is without a minde. And therefore God neuer wrought myracle to conuince Atheists, because his ordinary works conuince them. Certainely a little *Philosophie* inclineth mans minde[1] to *Atheisme*, but depth in *Philosophie*

[1] *man's minde* omitted in MS.

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bringeth men about to Religion. For when the minde of man looketh vpon second causes scattered, sometimes it resteth in them; but when it beholdeth them confederat, and knit together, it flies to prouidence and *Deitie.* Most of all, that schoole which is most accused of Atheisme doth demonstrate Religion. That is, the Schoole of *Leusippus*, and *Democritus*, and *Epicurus.* For it is a thousand times more credible, that foure mutable Elements, and one immutable fifth essence, duely and eternally placed, neede no God: then that an Army of infinite small portions or seeds vnplaced, should haue produced this order, and beauty, without a diuine Marshall. The scripture saith, *The foole hath said in his heart, there is no God.* It is not said, *The foole hath thought in his heart.* So as he rather saith it by rote to himselfe, as that he would haue; then that hee can throughly beleeue it, or bee perswaded of it. For none denie there is a God, but those for whom it maketh, that there were no God. *Epicurus* is charged that he did but dissemble for his credits sake, when he affirmed there were blessed natures, but such as enioyed themselues, without hauing respect to the gouernment of the world. Wherein they say, he did temporize, though in secret, hee thought, there was no God. But certainly hee is traduced; for his words are noble and diuine. *Non Deos vulgi negare profanum, sed vulgi opiniones Dijs applicare profanum. Plato* could haue said no more. And although he had the confidence to denie the administration; he had not the power to deny the nature. The *Indians* of the West, haue names for their particuler gods, though they haue no name for God: as if the hea-

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thens should haue had the names, *Iupiter*, *Apollo*, *Mars*, *&c.* but not the word *Deus:* which shews yet they haue the motion though not the full extent. So that against Atheists, the most barbarous Sauages, take part with the subtillest philosophers. They that deny a God destroy mans nobility. For certainely man is of kinne to the beasts by his body; and if he bee not of kin to God by his spirit, he is a base and ignoble creature. It destroies likewise magnanimity, and the raising of humane nature. For, take an example of a dog, and marke what a generosity and courage he will put on, when hee findes himselfe maintained by a man, which to him is instead of a god, or *Melior natura:* Which courage is manifestly such, as that creature, without that confidence of a better nature than his owne, could neuer attaine. So man when he resteth and assureth himselfe vpon Diuine protection and fauour; gathereth a force, and faith, which humane nature in it selfe could not obtaine. Therefore as *Atheisme* is in all respects hatefull: So in this, that it depriueth humane nature of the meanes to exalt it selfe aboue humane frailty. As it is in particuler persons; so it is in Nations. Neuer was there such a state for magnanimity as *Rome.* Of this state, heare what *Cicero* saith; *Quam volumus licet P. Cons. nos amemus, tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pœnos, nec artibus Grœcos, nec denique hoc ipso huius gentis & terræ domestico, natiuoque sensu Italos ipsos & Latinos; sed pietate, ac religione, atque hac vnâ sapientiâ quod Deorum immortalium numine omnia regi gubernarique perspeximus, omnes gentes, Nationesque superauimus.*

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15. Of Superstition.

It were better to haue no opinion of God at all; then such an opinion as is vnworthy of him; For the one is vnbeliefe, the other is *Contumely;* and certainely superstition is the reproch of Deitie.[1] *Atheisme* leaues a Man to sense, to Philosophy, to naturall piety, to lawes, to reputation, all which may bee guides vnto vertue, though Religion were not: but superstition dismounts all these, and erecteth an absolute Tyranny in the minde of men. Therefore *Atheisme* did neuer perturbe states; for it makes men wary of themselues, as looking no further: and we see the times inclined to *Atheisme*, as the time of *Augustus Cæsar*, and our owne times in some Countries, were, and are, ciuill times. But Superstition, hath beene the confusion and desolation of many states: and bringeth in a new *Primum Mobile* that rauisheth al the spheres of gouernment. The master of Superstition is the people: and in al superstition, wise men follow fooles; and arguments are fitted to practise, in a reuersed order. There is no such Atheist, as an Hipocrite, or Impostor: and it is not possible, but where the generality is superstitious, many of the leaders are Hipocrits. The causes of *Atheisme* are, diuisions in Religion; scandall of Priests; and learned times; specially if prosperous; though for diuisions, any one maine diuision addeth zeale to both sides, but many diuisions introduce *Atheisme*. The causes of Superstition are, the pleasing of Ceremonies; the excesse of outward holinesse; the reuerence of traditions; the stratagems

[1] *of the Deytie*, MS.

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of Prelats for their owne ambition and lucre, and barbarous times, specially with calamities, and disasters. Superstition without his vaile is a deformed thing; for as it addeth deformity to an Ape, to be so like a man; So the similitude of superstition to *Religion*, makes it the more deformed. And as wholesome meat corrupteth to little wormes; so good formes and orders, corrupt into a number of pettie obseruances.

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16. Wisdome for a mans selfe.

An *Ante* is a wise creature for it selfe: But it is a shrewd thing in an Orchard or garden. And certainly men that are great louers of themselues, waste the publike. Diuide with reason betweene selfe loue, and society: and bee so true to thy selfe, as thou be not false to others. It is a poore Centre of a mans actions, *himselfe*. It is right earth. For that only stands fast vpon his owne centre: whereas all things that haue affinity with the heauens, moue vpon the centre of an other, which they benefit. The referring of all to a mans selfe, is more tollerable in a soueraigne Prince; because themselues are not themselues; but their good and euill is at the perill of the publike fortune. But it is a desperate euil in a seruant to a *Prince*, or a Citizen in a *Republike*. For whatsoeuer affaires passe such a mans hand, hee crooketh them to his owne ends; which must needs bee often *Eccentrike* to the ends of his master or state. Therefore let Princes or States, chuse such seruants, as haue not this marke; except they meane their seruice should bee made but the accessary. And that which maketh

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the effect more pernitious, is, that al proportion is lost. It were disproportion enough for the seruants good to be preferred before the masters: But yet it is a greater extreme, when a little good of the servants, shall carrie things against a great good of the masters. And yet that is the case; for the good such seruants receiue; is after the modell of their owne fortune: but the hurt they sell for that good, is after the modell of their Masters *Fortune.* And certainely it is the nature of extreme selfe-louers, as they will set an house on fire, and it were but to rost their egges;[1] and yet these men many times hold credit with their masters; because their study is but to please them, and profit themselves; and for either respect they will abandon the good of their affaires.

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17. Of Regiment of health.

There is a wisdome in this, beyond the rules of *Phisicke.* A mans owne obseruation what he findes good of, and what hee findes hurt of, is the best *Physicke* to preserue health. But it is a safer conclusion to say; this agreeth not well with mee, therefore I will not continue it; then this, I finde no offence of this, therefore I may vse it: for strength of nature in youth, passeth ouer many excesses, which are owing a man till his age. Discerne of the comming on of yeeres: and thinke not to doe the same things still. Certainly most lusty old men catch their death by that aduenture; For age will not be defied.[2] Beware of any sudden change in any great point of diet,

[1] *egge* in MS. [2] This sentence is not in the MS.

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and if necessitie enforce it, fit the rest to it. For it is a secret both in nature and state, that it is safer to change many things then one.[1] To bee free minded and cherefullie disposed at houres of meat, and of sleepe, and of exercise, is the best precept of long lasting. If you fly Phisicke in health altogether, it will be too strange for your body, when you shall need it: if you make it too familiar, it will worke no extraordinary effect, when sicknesse commeth. Despise no new accident in your body, but aske opinion of it. In sicknesse respect health principally, and in health action. For those that put their bodies to endure in health, may in most sicknesses, which are not very sharpe, be cured onely with diet and tendering.[2] *Celsus* could neuer haue spoken it as a Physitian had he not been a wise man withall: when he giueth it for one of the great precepts of health and lasting; That a man doe varie and interchange contraries, but with an inclination to the more benign extreame; vse fasting and full eating, but rather full eating; watching and sleepe, but rather sleepe; sitting and exercise, but rather exercise, and the like. So shall nature bee cherished and yet taught masteries. Physitians are some of them so pleasing & conformable to the humors of the Patient, as they presse not the true cure of the disease; and some other are so regular, in proceeding according to art for the disease, as they respect not sufficiently the condition of the Patient. Take one of a middle temper, or if it may not be found in one man, combine two of both sorts: and forget not to call as well the best acquainted with your bodie, as the best reputed of, for his faculty.

[1] This sentence is not in the MS.

[2] The next three sentences, down to "masteries," are not in the MS.

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18. Of Expences.

Riches are for spending, and spending for honour & good actions. Therefore extraordinary expence must bee limited by the worth of the occasion, for voluntary vndoing may bee aswell for a mans Countrey, as for the kingdome of *Heauen*. But ordinarie expence, ought to be limitted by a mans estate and gouerned with such regard, as it be within his compasse, and not subiect to deceit, and abuse of seruants; and ordered to the best shew, that the bils may be lesse then the estimation abroad. It is no basenesse for the greatest to descend and looke into their owne estates. Some forbeare it not vpon negligence alone, but doubting to bring themselues into malancholy in respect they shall find it broken. But wounds cannot bee cured without searching. Hee that cannot looke into his owne estate at all[1], had neede both choose well those whom he imploieth, and change them often: for new are more timorous, and less subtill. He that can looke into his estate but seldom, had need turne all to certainties.[2] In cleering of a mans estate, hee may aswell hurt himselfe in being too sudden, as in letting it run on to long. For hasty selling is commonly as disaduantageable as interest.[3] Besides, he that cleeres at once will relapse: For finding himself out of straights, he wil reuert to his customes. But hee that cleereth by degrees, induceth an habite of frugality, and gaineth aswell vpon his minde as vpon his estate. Certainly who hath a state to repaire may not despise

[1] The words *at all* are not in the MS.
[2] This sentence is not in the MS.
[3] The next two sentences (down to "certainly") are not in the MS.

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small things; and commonly it is lesse dishonourable to abridge pettie charges, then to stoope to petty gettings. A man ought warily to begin charges, which once begun must continue. But in matters that return not, he may bee more magnificent.

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19. Of Discourse.

Some in their discourse desire rather cõmendation of wit, in beeing able to holde all arguments, then of iudgement in discerning what is true; as if it were a praise to know what might be said, & not what should be thought. Some haue certaine common places, & theames wherein they are good, and want variety: which kind of pouerty is for the most part tedious, and now and then ridiculous. The honorablest kind of talke, is to giue the occasion, and againe to moderate and passe to somewhat else. It is good to varie and mixe speech of the present occasion with argument: tales with reasons; asking of questions, with telling of opinions: and iest with earnest. But some things are priuiledged from iest, namely religion, matters of State, great persons, any mans present businesse of importance, and any case that deserueth pitty[1]; and generally men ought to finde the difference betweene saltnesse and bitternesse. Certainly he that hath a *Satyricall* vaine, as he maketh others afraid of his wit, so he had need be afraid of others memory. He that questioneth much shall learne much, and content much: specially if he applie his questions to the skill of the persons of whom

[1] What follows, (down to "memory,") is not in the MS.

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he asketh: For he shall giue them occasion to please themselues in speaking, and himselfe shal continually gather knowledge. If you dissemble sometimes your knowledge of that you are thought to know, you shall be thought an other time to know that you know not. Speech of a mās selfe is not good often, and there is but one case wherin a man may commend himselfe with good grace, and that is in commending vertue in another, especially if it bee such a vertue, as whereunto himselfe pretendeth. Speech of touch toward others, should bee sparingly vsed; for discourse ought to bee as a field, without comming home to any man.[1] Discretion of speech is more than eloquence; and to speake agreeably to him with whom wee deale, is more then to speake in good words, or in good order. A good continued speech without a good speech of interlocution, sheweth slownesse: and a good reply, or second speech, without a good setled speech, sheweth shallownesse and weakenesse: as wee see in beasts, that those that are weakest in the course, are yet nimblest in the turne. To vse too many circumstances ere one come to the matter, is wearisome; to vse none at all, is blunt.

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20. Of Seeming wise.

It hath beene an opinion, that the *French* are wiser than they seeme, and the *Spaniards* seem wiser thē they are: But howsoeuer it be betweene Nations, certainely it is so between Man and Man. For as the Apostle saith of *godlinesse: Hauing a shew of godli-*

[1] This sentence is not in the MS.

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nesse, but denying the power thereof; So certainlie there are in point of wisdome and sufficiencie, that doe nothing or little verie solemnly; *Magno conatu nugas.* It is a ridiculous thing, and fit for a *Satyre* to persons of iudgement, to see what shifts these formalists haue, and what perspectiues to make *Superficies* to seeme body, that hath depth and bulke. Some are so close, and reserued, as they will not shew their wares, but by a darke light; and seeme alwaies to keepe back somewhat; and when they know within themselues, they speake of that they doe not well know; would neuerthelesse seeme to others, to know of that which they may not well speake: Some helpe themselues with countenance and gesture, and are wise by signes, as *Cicero* saith of *Piso*, that when he answered him, he fetched one of his brows vp to his forehead, and bent the other downe to his chinne: *Respondes altero ad frontem sublato, altero ad mentum depresso supercilio, crudelitatem tibi non placere.* Some thinke to bear it by speaking a great word, and being peremptory, and will goe on and take by admittance that which they cannot make good. Some, whatsoeuer is beyond their reach, they will seeme to despise or make light of, as impertinent or curious; and so would haue their *Ignorance* seeme iudgement. Some are neuer without a difference, and commonly by amusing men with a subtilty, blanch the matter. Of whom *Gellius* saith; *Hominem delirum, qui verborum minutijs rerum frangit pondera.* Of which kinde also, *Plato* in his *Protagoras* bringeth in *Prodicus* in scorne, and maketh him make a speech that consisteth of distinctions from the beginning to the end. Generally, such men in all deliberations, finde ease to be of the Negatiue side, and affect

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a credit to obiect and foretell difficulties. For when propositions are denied, there is an end of them, but if they bee allowed, it requireth a new worke; which false point of wisdome is the bane of businesse. To conclude, there is no decaying Marchant, or inward beggar, hath so many tricks to vphold the credit of their wealth, as these emptie persons haue to maintaine the credit of their sufficiency.

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21. Of Riches.

I cannot call Riches better then the baggage of *Vertue;* the Romane word is better, *Impedimenta;* For as the baggage is to an Armie, so is riches to *vertue:* It cannot be spared, nor left behinde; but it hindreth the March, yea and the care of it sometimes loseth or disturbeth the victory. Of great *Riches* there is no reall vse, except it bee in the distribution: the rest is but conceit. So saith *Salomon: Where much is, there are many to consume it, and what hath the owner but the sight of it with his eies?* The personall fruition in any man cannot reach to feele great riches; there is a custody of them; or a power of *Dole* and donatiue of them; or a fame of them; but no solide vse to the owner. Doe you not see what fained prises are set upon little stones, and rarities, and what works of ostentation are vndertaken, because there might seeme to bee some vse of great riches? But then they may be of vse to buy men out of dangers or troubles: as *Salomon* saith; *Riches are as a strong hold in the imagination of the rich man.* But this is excellently expressed, that it is in *Imagination;* and not alwaies in fact. For

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certainly, great riches haue sold more men then they haue bought out. Seeke not proud Riches; but such as thou maiest get iustly; vse soberlie, distribute cheerefully, and leaue contentedly. Yet haue no abstract, nor frierly contempt of them. But distinguish, as *Cicero* saith well of *Rabirius Posthumus: In studio rei amplificandæ, apparebat non auaritiæ prædam sed instrumentum bonitati quæri.* Neither trust thou much others, that seeme to despise them: For they despise them that dispaire of them, and none worse, when they come to them. Be not penny-wise; Riches haue wings; & sometimes they fly away of themselves; sometimes they must bee set flying, to bring in more. Men leaue their riches, either to their kindred, or to the publike: and moderate portions prosper best in both. A great state left to an heire, is as a lure to al the birds of prey round about, to seize on him, if he bee not the better stablished in yeeres & iudgement. Likewise glorious gifts, and foundations, are but the painted Sepulchres of *Almes*, which soone wil putrifie and corrupt inwardly. Therefore measure not thy aduancements by quantity, but frame them by measure; and deferre not charities till death: for certainly, if a man weigh it rightly, he that doth so is rather liberall of another mans, then of his owne.

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22. Of Ambition.

Ambition is like choler; which is an humor that maketh men actiue, earnest, full of alacrity and stirring, if it be not stopped. But if it be stopped, and cannot haue his way, it becometh adust, and thereby

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maligne and venemous. So ambitious men if they finde the way open for their rising, and still get forward; they are rather busie than dangerous: but if they be checked in their desires, they become secretly discontent, and looke vpon men, and matters with an euill eie, and are best pleased when things goe backward: which is the worst propertie that can be in a seruant of a *Prince*, or State. Therfore it is good for *Princes*, if they vse ambitious men to handle it so, as they be stil progressiue, and not retrograde: which because it cannot bee without inconuenience; it is good not to vse such natures at all. For if they rise not with their seruice, they will take order to make their seruice fal with them. Of Ambitions, it is the lesse harmefull, the Ambition to preuaile in great things; then that other to appeare in euery thing: For that breedes confusion, and marres businesse. He that seeketh to be eminent amongst able men, hath a great taske: but that is euer good for the publike. But he that plots to bee the onely figure amongst Ciphers, is the decay of an whole age. Honour hath three things in it; The vantage ground to doe good; The approach to Kings and principall persons; And the raising of a mans owne *Fortunes*. He that hath the best of these intentions when hee aspireth, is an honest man; and that Prince that can discerne of these intentions in another that aspireth, is a wise Prince. Generally, let Princes and States chuse such ministers, as are more sensible of duty, then of rising; and such as loue businesse rather vpon conscience, then vpon brauery: and let them discerne a busie nature, from a willing minde.

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23. Of Young men and Age.

A man that is young in yeeres, may bee old in houres; if he haue lost no time. But that happeneth rarely. Generally youth is like the first cogitations, not so wise as the second: For there is a youth in thoughts, aswell as in ages. Natures that haue much heat, and great and violent desires and perturbations, are not ripe for action, till they haue passed the meridian of their yeeres: but reposed natures may doe well in youth: as on the otherside heate and viuacity in age is an excellent composition for businesse. *Young men* are fitter to inuent then to iudge; fitter for execution then for Counsell; and fitter for new proiects, then for setled businesse. For the experience of age in things that fall within the compasse of it, directeth them: but in things meerly new abuseth them. The errors of young men are the ruine of businesse: But the errours of aged men, amount but to this; that more might haue bin done, or sooner. Young men in the conduct and mannage of Actions, embrace more than they can hold, stirre more then they can quiet, flie to the end without consideration of the meanes, and degrees, pursue some fewe principles, which they haue chanced vpon absurdly, care not to innouate, which drawes vnknowne inconueniencies; vse extreme remedies at first: and that which doubleth all errors, will not acknowledge nor retract them; like an vnready horse, that wil neither stop nor turne. Men of age obiect too much, consulte too long, aduenture too little, repent too soone, & seldome driue businesse home to the full period; but content themselues with a mediocrity of successe. Certainly it is good to compound imploiments of both:

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for that will bee good for the present; because the vertues of either age may correct the defects of both: and good for succession, that young men may bee learners, while men in age are Actors: and lastly, in respect of externe accidents, because authority followeth old men, and fauour and popularity youth. But for the morall part: perhaps youth will haue the preheminence, as age hath for the politike. A certaine *Rabby* vpon the Text, *Your Young men shall see visions, and your Old men shall dreame Dreames:* inferreth, that young men are admitted neerer to God then old, because vision is a cleerer reuelation, then a dreame. And certainlie, the more a man drinketh of the world, the more it intoxicateth; and age doth profit rather in the powers of vnderstanding, then in the vertues of the will and affections.

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24. Of Beauty.

Vertue is like a rich stone, best plain set: and surely vertue is best set in a body that is comely though not of delicate features; and that hath rather dignity of presence, then beauty of aspect. Neither is it almost seene, that verie beautiful persons are otherwise of great vertue; as if nature were rather busie not to erre, then in labour to produce excellency. And therefore they proue accomplished, but not of great spirit; and study rather behauiour then vertue. In *Beautie*, that of fauour is more then that of colour; and that of decent and gratious motion, more then that of fauour. That is the best part of beauty which a picture cannot expresse: no nor the first sight of the life: & there is no excellent beauty, that hath not some strange-

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nesse in the proportions. A man cannot tell whether *Apelles* or *Albert Durere* were the more trifler. Whereof the one would make a personage by Geometrical proportions, the other by taking the best parts out of diuers faces, to make one excellent. Such personages I thinke would please no body, but the Painter that made them. Not but I thinke a Painter may make a better face than euer was: But hee must doe it by a kinde of felicity, (as a Musitian that maketh an excellēt aire in *Musick*) and not by rule. If it bee true that the principall part of beauty is in decent motion; certainely it is no maruell, though persons in yeeres seeme many times more amiable *Pulchrorum Autumnus pulcher*. For no youth can be comely, but by pardon, & considering[1] the youth, as to make vp the comelinesse. Beauty is as sommer fruits, which are easie to corrupt and cannot last: and for the most part, it makes a dissolute youth, & an age a little out of countenance: But yet certainly againe, if it light well, it maketh vertues shine, and vices blush.

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25. Of Deformity.

Deformed persons are commonly euen with nature: for as Nature hath done ill by them, so doe they by nature, being for the most part (as the Scripture saith) void of naturall affection; and so they haue their reuenge of nature. Certainlie, there is a consent betweene the body and the minde, and where Nature erreth in the one; she ventureth in the other. *Vbi peccat in vno periclitatur in altero.* But because there

[1] "and by considering," in MS.

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is in man an election touching the frame of his minde, and a necessitie in the frame of his body; the starres of naturall inclination, are sometimes obscured by the sunne of discipline and vertue. Therefore it is good to consider of deformity, not as a signe, which is more deceiueable; but as a cause, which seldome faileth of the effect. Whosoeuer hath any thing fixed in his person, that doth induce contempt; hath also a perpetuall spurre in himselfe, to rescue and deliuer himself from scorne. Therefore all deformed persons are extreme bold: first, as in their owne defence, as being exposed to scorne; but in processe of time, by a generall habite. Also, it stirreth in them industrie, and specially of this kinde, to watch and obserue the weaknesse of others, that they may haue somewhat to repay. Againe in their superiours, it quencheth ielousie towards them, as persons that they thinke they may at pleasure despise; and it layeth their competitors and emulators asleepe: as neuer beleeuing they should bee in possibility of aduancement, till they see them in possession. So that vpon the whole matter, in a great wit, deformity is an aduantage to rising. *Kings* in ancient times, and at this present in some Countries were wont to put great trust in *Eunuches;* because they that are enuious towards all, are more obnoxious and officious towards one. But yet their trust towards them, hath rather beene as to good spials, & good whisperers; then good Magistrates, and officers. And much like is the reason of deformed persons. Still the ground is, they will, if they bee of spirit, seeke to free themselues from scorne: which must bee either by vertue, or malice; and therefore they prooue either the best of men, or the worst, or strangely mixed.

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26. Of Nature in Men.

Nature is often hidden, sometimes ouercome; seldom extinguished. Force maketh nature more violent in the returne : doctrine and discourse maketh nature lesse importune; but custome onely doth alter and subdue nature. Hee that seeketh victorie ouer his nature, let him not set himselfe to great, nor to small taskes. For the first will make him deiected by often failes; and the second will make him a small proceeder, though by often preuailings. And at the first let him practise with helps as Swimmers doe with bladders, or rushes: but after a time let him practise with disaduantages, as dauncers do with thicke shooes. For it breeds great perfection, if the Practise bee harder than the vse. Wher nature is mighty, and therefore the victorie hard; the degrees had need bee, first to stay and arrest nature in time: like to him that would say ouer the foure and twenty letters when he was angry, then to go lesse in quantitie; as if one should in forbearing wine come from drinking healthes, to a draught a meale;[1] and lastlie to discontinue altogether. But if a man haue the fortitude and resolution to infranchise himselfe at once that is the best;

Optimus ille animi vindex lædentia pectus
Vincula qui rupit, dedoluitque semel.

Neither is the ancient rule amisse, to bend nature as a wand, to a contrary extreame, whereby to set it right; vnderstanding it, where the contrary extreme is no vice.[2] Let not a man force a habite vpon himselfe

[1] The words "like to . . . angry," and "as if . . . meale," are not in the MS.

[2] The MS. has "neither is it amisse to bend nature to a contrarye extreame, where it is noe vice."

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with a perpetual continuance, but with some intermission. For both the pause reinforceth the new onset; and if a man that is not perfect be euer in practise, hee shall aswell practise his errors, as his abilities, and induce one habite of both: and there is no meanes to help this, but by sesonable intermissions. A mans nature is best perceiued in priuatnesse, for there is no affectation; in passion for that putteth a man out of his precepts; and in a new case, or experiment, for there custome leueth him. They are happy men, whose natures sort with their vocations, otherwise they may say, *Multum incola fuit anima mea*, when they conuerse in those things they doe not affect. In studies whatsoeuer a man commandeth vpon himselfe, let him set hours for it. But whatsoeuer is agreeable to his nature, let him take no care for any set times: For his thoughts will flye to it of themselues; so as the spases of other businesse or studies will suffice.

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27. Of Custome and Education.

Mens thoughts are much according to their inclination; their discourse and speeches according to their learning, and infused opinions; But their deedes are after as they haue beene accustomed. And therefore as *Macciauel* wel noteth, (though in an euil fauoured instance) there is no trusting to the force of Nature; nor to the brauery of words; except it be corroborate by custome. His instance is, that for the atchieuing of a desperate conspiracie a man should not rest vpon the fiercenes of any mans nature, or his resolute vndertakings, but take such a one as hath had his hand formerly

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in blood. But *Macciauel* knew not of a Frier *Clement*, nor a *Ravillae*, nor a *Iaurequy*, nor a *Baltazar Gerard*.[1] Yet his rule holdeth still, that nature, nor the ingagement of words are not so forcible as custome. Onelie Superstition is now so well aduanced, that men of the first blood, are as firme, as butchers by occupation: and votarie resolution is made equipollent to custome, euen in matter of blood. In other things the predominancy of custome is euery where visible; insomuch as a man would wonder, to heare men professe, protest, ingage, giue great words, and then doe iust, as they haue done before: as if they were dead Images & Engins moued only by the wheeles of custome. Therefore since custome is the principal Magistrate of mans life: let men by all meanes endeauour to obtaine good customes. Certainly custome is most perfect when it beginneth in young yeeres. This wee call *Education:* which is nothing but an early custome. For it is true that late learners cannot so well take the plie; except it be in some mindes, that haue not suffered themselues to fixe, but haue kept themselues open and prepared to receiue continuall amendment; which is exceeding rare. But if the force of custome simple, and separate be great; the force of custom copulate & conioind, and in troupe, is far greater. For thear example teacheth; companie comforteth; æmulation quickeneth; glory raiseth; so as in such places the force of custome is in his exaltation. Certainelie the great multiplication of vurtues upon humane nature, resteth vpon societies well ordained, and disciplined. For Common wealthes, and good gouernments, doe nourish vertue grown, but doe not mende the seeds.

[1] A blank is left for this name in the MS.

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But the miserie is, that the most effectual meanes are now applied to the ends least to be desired.

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28. Of Fortune.

It cannot bee denied, but outward accidents conduce much to a Mans fortune. Fauour, Oportune death of others; occasion fitting vertue. But chiefely the mould of a Mans fortune is in himselfe. And the most frequent of external causes is, that the folly of one man is the fortune of another. For no man prospers so sodenly, as by others errors. *Serpens nisi serpentem comederit non fit Draco.* Ouert, and apparant vertues bring foorth praise, but there bee hidden and secret vertues that bring forth fortune. Certaine deliueries of a mans selfe which haue no name. The Spanish word *Desemboltura* partlie expresseth them, when there be no stonds nor restiuenesse in a mans nature. For so saith *Liuie* well, after he had described *Cato Maior* in these words, *In illo viro tantū robur corporis & animi fuit, vt quocunq; loco natus esset fortunā sibi facturus videretur:* He falleth vpon that, that he had *Versatile ingenium.* Therefore if a man looke sharpely and accentiuely, hee shall see fortune; for though shee be blinde, yet shee is not inuisible. The way of fortune is like the milken way in the skie, which is a meeting, or knot of a number of small starres; not seene asunder, but giuing light together. So are there a number of little and scarse discerned vertues, or rather faculties and customes, that make men fortunate. The *Italians* note some of them, such as a man would little thinke; when they speake of one that cannot doe amisse, they will throw

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in into his other cōditions, that he hath *Poco di matto.*[1] And certainly, there bee not two more fortunate properties, then to haue a little of the foole, and not too much of the honest. Therefore extreme louers of their Countrey, or Masters, were never fortunate, neither can they bee. For when a man placeth his thoughts without himselfe, hee goeth not his owne way. An hasty fortune maketh an enterpriser and remouer; (the *French* hath it better *Enterprenāt*, or *Remuant*) but the exercised fortune maketh the able man. Fortune is to bee honoured and respected, and it be but for her daughters, *Confidence* and *Reputation;* for those two felicity breedeth: the first, within a mans selfe; the later, in others towards him. All wise men to decline the Enuie of their owne vertues, vse to ascribe them to prouidence, and fortune. For so they may the better assume them. And besides, it is greatnesse in a man to bee the care of the higher powers.[2] And it hath been noted, that those that ascribe openly to much to their owne wisdome and policy, end infortunate. It is written, that *Timotheus* the *Athenian*, after hee had in the account he gaue to the state of his gouernment, often interlaced this speach: *And in this, fortune had no part;* neuer prospered in any thing he vndertooke afterwards.

[1] This sentence stands thus in the MS.: "The Italians have found out one of them; *Poco di matto*, when they speak of one that cannot do amisse."

The word *note* in the text (which had been omitted in the printing) is inserted with a pen, in both my copies of this edition: evidently with the same hand and ink, and both old. Whence I infer that Bacon, instead of printing a list of *errata*, had the corrections made by hand before the copies were issued.

[2] The rest is not in the MS.

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29. Of Studies.

Studies serue for Delight, for Ornament, and for Ability; their cheife vse for delight,[1] is, in priuatnesse, and retiring; for ornament, is in discourse, and for abilitie, is in iudgement. For expert men can execute, but learned men are fittest to iudge or censure. To spend too much time in them, is *Sloth;* to vse them too much for ornament, is *affectation;* to make iudgement wholly by their rules, is the *humour of a Scholer.* They perfect *Nature*, and are perfected by Experience. Crafty men contemne them, simple men admire them, and wise men vse them. For they teach not their owne vse, but that is a wisdome without them, and aboue them, wonne by obseruation. Read not to contradict, nor to beleeue, but to weigh and consider. Some bookes are to bee tasted, others to bee swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested. That is, some bookes are to be read only in parts; other to bee read, but not curiously; and some few to bee read wholly, and with diligence and attention. Reading maketh a full man, Conference a ready man, and writing an exact man. And therefore if a man write little, hee had neede haue a great memory; if he confer little, hee had neede haue a present wit, and if he read little, hee had neede haue much cunning, to seeme to know that hee doth not. *Histories* make men wise, *Poets* wittie, the *Mathematickes* subtill, Naturall *Philosophie* deepe, *Morall* graue, *Logicke* and *Rethoricke* able to contend.[2] *Abeunt studia in mores.* Nay, thear is no stond or im-

[1] The MS. has "Studies serve for Pastymes, for ornaments, and for abillityes: Theire cheife use for pastyme, is" &c.

[2] In the MS. this Essay ends here.

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pediment in the wit, but may be wrought out by fit studies: like as diseases of the body may haue appropriate exercises. Bowling is good for the Stone and Raines; Shooting for the longs & breast; gentle walking for the stomacke; riding for the head: and the like. So if a mans wit be wandring, let him study the *Mathematiks;* if his wit be not apt to distinguish, or find difference, let him study the Schoolemen; if it bee not apt to beat ouer matters and to find out resemblances, let him study Lawyers cases. So euerie defect of the mind may haue a speciall receit.

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30. Of Ceremonies and Respects.

Hee that is onely reall, had need haue exceeding great parts of vertue: as the stone had neede to be rich that is set without foile. But commonly it is in praise, as it is in gaine: For as the prouerbe is true, *That light gaines make heauie purses*, because they come thicke, whereas great come, but now and then: so it is true, that small matters winne great commendation, because they are continually in vse, and in note. Whereas the occasion of any great vertue, commeth but on holie daise. To attaine good formes, it sufficeth not to despise them: for so shall a man obserue them in others: And let him trust himself with the rest. For if he care to expresse them, hee shall lose their grace, which is to be naturall and vnaffected. Some mens behauiour is like a verse wherein euery sillable is measured; how can a man comprehend great matters, that breaketh his mind to much to small obseruation? Not to vse Ceremonies at al, is to teach others not to vse them againe;

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& so diminisheth respect: especially they bee not to be omitted to strangers, & formall natures. Amongst a mans Peeres, a man shall be sure of familiarity; and therefore it is good a little to keep state: amongst a mans inferiours one shal be sure of Reuerence; and therefore it is good a little to bee familiar. Hee that is too much in any thing, so that hee giueth another occasion of satietie, maketh himself cheap. To apply ones selfe to others is good; so it be with demonstration that a man doth it vpon regard, and not vpon facility. It is a good precept, generally in seconding another, yet to adde somewhat of ones owne; as if you will grant his opinion, let it be with some distinction; if you will follow his motion; let it be with condition; if you allow his counsell, let it be with alleging further reason.[1] Men had neede beware how they be too perfit in complements. For be they neuer so sufficient otherwise, their enuiers will bee sure to giue them that attribute to the disaduantage of their greater vertue. It is losse also in businesse to be too full of respects, or to be to curious in obseruing times and oportunities. *Salomon* saith *He that considereth the wind shall not sowe, and hee that looketh to the clowdes, shall not reape.* A wise man will make more opportunities than he findes.

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31. Of Sutors.

Manie ill matters are vndertaken, & many good matters with ill mindes. Some embrace suits which neuer meane to deale effectually in them, but if they see there may be life in the matter by some other

[1] The Essay ends here in the MS.

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meane, they will be content to winne a thanke, or take a second reward, or at least to make vse in the meane time of the Sutors hopes.[1] Some take hold of suits only for an occasion to crosse some other, or to make an Information whereof they could not otherwise haue apt pretext, without care what become of the suite when that turne is serued. Nay, some vndertake suits with a full purpose to let them fall, to the end to gratifie the aduerse party or competitor. Surely there is in sort a right in euery suit; either a right of equity, if it be a suit of controuersie or a right of desart, if it be a suit of petition. If affection leade a man to fauour the wrong side in iustice, let him rather vse his countenance to compound the matter then to carry it. If affectiō leade a man to fauor the lesse worthy in desart, let him doe it without deprauing or disabling the better deseruer. In suits a man doth not wel vnderstand, it is good to referre them to some friend of trust and iudgement, that may report whether hee may deale in them with honour. Sutors are so distasted with delaies and abuses, that plaine dealing in denying to deale in suits at first, and reporting the successe barely, and in challenging no more thankes then one hath deserued, is growne not onlie honourable, but also gracious. In suits of fauour, the first comming ought to take little place: so farre forth consideration may be had of his trust, that if intelligence of the matter could not otherwise haue been had, but by him, aduantage be not taken of the note, but the party left to his other meanes.[2] To be ignorant of the value

[1] The words "or at least . . . . hopes" are not in the MS.
[2] The last clause is not in the MS.

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of a suit is simplicity, as well as to bee ignorant of the right therof, is want of conscience. Secresie in suites is a great meane of obtaining; For voicing them to bee in forwardnesse, may discourage some kind of suitors, but doth quicken and awake others. But timing of the suits is the principall. Timing I say not onely in respect of the person that should grant it, but in respect of those which are like to crosse it.[1] Let a man in the choise of his meane, rather chuse the fittest meane then the greatest meane, and rather them that deale in certaine things then those that are generall. The reparation of a deniall is sometimes equall to the first grant, if a man shew himselfe neither deiected, nor discontented. *Iniquum petas vt æquum feras*, is a good rule where a man hath strength of fauour; but otherwise a man were better rise in his suit; for hee that would haue ventured at first to haue lost the sutor, will not in the conclusion lose both the sutor and his owne former fauor. Nothing is thought so easie a request to a great person as his Letter; and yet if it be not in a good cause, it is so much out of his reputation.

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32. Of Followers and friends.

Costly followers are not to bee liked, lest while a man maketh his traine longer, he make his wings shorter. I reckon to bee costly, not them alone which charge the purse, but which are wearisome and importune in suits. Ordinarie followers ought to challenge no higher conditions then countenance, recommenda-

[1] What follows, down to "former favor," is not in the MS.

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tion, and protection from wrongs. Factious followers are worse to bee liked, which follow not vpon affection to him with whom they range themselues, but vpon discontentment conceiued against some other. Wherupon commonly ensueth, that ill intelligence, that wee many times see beetweene great personages. Likewise glorious followers are full of inconueniency; for they teint businesse through want of secrecy, and they export honor from a man and make him a returne in enuy.[1] The following by certaine States, answerable to that which a great person himselfe professeth, as of Souldiers to him that hath beene imploid in the warres, and the like, hath euer beene a thing ciuill, and well taken euen in Monarchies so it be without too much pompe or popularity. But the most honourable kind of following, is to be followed, as one that apprehendeth to aduance vertue and desart in all sort of persons. And yet where there is no eminent oddes in sufficiency, it is better to take with the more passable, then with the more able. In gouernment it is good to vse men of one rancke equally: For to countenance some extraordinarily, is to make them insolent, and the rest discontent; because they may claime a due. But in fauour to vse men with much difference and election, is good; For it maketh the persons preferred more thankfull, and the rest more officious; because all is of favour. It is good not to make to much of any man at the first, because one cannot hold out that proportion. To bee gouerned by one is not good, and to bee distracted with many, is worse; but to take aduise of some few friends, is euer honourable, *For lookers on, many times*

[1] This sentence is not in the MS.

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see more then gamesters, and the vale best discouereth the hill. There is little friendship in the world, and least of all between equals, which was wont to bee magnified. That that is, is betweene *Superiour* and *Inferiour*, whose fortunes may comprehend the one the other.

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33. Of Negociating.

It is generallie better to deale by speach, then by letter, and by the mediation of a third, then by a mans selfe. Letters are good when a man would draw an answer by letter backe againe, or when it may serue for a mans iustification afterwards to produce his owne letter, or where it may bee danger to bee interrupted or heard by peeces.[1] To deale in person is good when a mans face breeds regard, as commonly with inferiours, or in tender cases where a mans eie vpon the countenance of him with whom one speaketh, may giue him a direction how farre to goe, and generally where a man will reserue to himselfe libertie either to disaduowe or to expound. In choise of instruments it is better to choose men of a plainer sort, that are like to doe that, that is committed to them, and to report backe againe faithfully the successe, then those that are cunning to cõtriue out of other mens busines, somewhat to grace themselues, and will helpe the matter in report for satisfaction sake. It is better to sound a person with whom one deales a farre off, then to fall vpon the point at first, except you meane to supprise him by some short question. It is better dealing with men in appetite, then with those which are where they

[1] The last clause is not in the MS.

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would bee. If a man deale with an other vpon conditions, the start or first performance is all, which a man cannot reasonably demand, except either the nature of the thing be such which must goe before, or else a man can perswade the other party, that hee shall still neede him in some other thing, or else that he be counted the honester man. All practise is to discouer or to worke. Men discouer themselues in trust, in passion, at vnawares, and of necessity, when they would haue somewhat done, and cannot finde an apt pretext. If you would worke any man, you must either know his nature, and fashions, and so leade him, or his endes, and so perswade him; or his weaknes or disaduantages, and so awe him, or those that haue interest in him, and so gouerne them. In dealing with cunning persons, we must euer consider their endes to interpret their speeches; and it is good to say little to them, and that which they least looke for.

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34. Of Faction.

Many haue an opinion not wise; That for a Prince to gouerne his estate, or for a great person to gouerne his proceedings, according to the respect of factions, is the principall part of pollicy: whereas contrariwise, the chiefest wisdome is either in ordering those things which are generall, and wherein men of seuerall factions doe neuerthelesse agree, or in dealing with correspondence to particuler persons, one by one. But I say not, that the consideration of factions is to be neglected. Meane men must adhere, but great men that haue strength in themselues were better to main-

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taine themselues indifferent, and neutrall. Yet euen in beginners to adhere so moderatly, as he be a man of the one faction, which is passablest with the other, commonly giueth best way. The lower and weaker faction is the firmer in coniunction. When one of the factions is extinguished, the remaining subdiuideth: which is good for a second. It is cōmonly seene, that men once placed, take in with the contrary factiō to that, by which they enter. The Traitor in factions lightly goeth away with it: for when matters haue stucke long in balancing, the winning of some one man casteth them and he getteth all the thankes.[1] The euen carriage betweene two factions, proceedeth not alwaies of moderation, but of a truenesse to a mans selfe, with end to make vse of both. Certainely in *Italie* they hold it a little suspect in Popes, when they haue often in their mouth *Padre Commune*, & take it to a signe of one that meaneth to referre all to the greatnesse of his own house.

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35. Of Praise.

Praise is the reflection of vertue: but it is as the glasse, or bodie is, which giueth the reflection. If it be from the common people, it is commonly false and naught; and rather followeth vaine persons, then vertuous: for the common people vnderstand not many excellent vertues: the lowest vertues draw praise from them, the middle vertues worke in them astonishment, or admiration; but of the highest vertues they haue no sense or perceiuing at all. But shewes, and *Species*

[1] The Essay ends here in the MS.

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virtutibus similes, serue best with them. Certainly, Fame is like a Riuer, that beareth vp things light, and swolne; and drownes things waighty and solid: But if persons of quality & iudgement concur, then it is as the Scripture saith, *Nomen bonum instar vnguenti fragrantis;* It filleth all round about, and will not easily away. For the odors of ointments are more durable than those of flowers. There bee so many false pointes of praise, that a man may iustly hold it suspect. Some praises proceeds meerely of flattery: and if he bee an ordinary flatterer, hee will haue certaine common attributes, which may serue euery man: if he bee a cunning flatterer hee will follow the Archflatterer, which is a mans selfe, & wherein a man thinketh best of himselfe, therein the flatterer will vphold him most: But if hee bee an impudent flatterer, looke wherein a man is conscient to himselfe, that he is most defectiue, and is most out of countenance in himselfe, that wil the flatterer entitle him to perforce; *Spreta conscientiâ.* Some praises come of good wishes and respects, which is a forme due in ciuility to *Kings* and great persons, *Laudando præcipere;* when by telling men what they are, they represent to them what they should bee. Some men are praised maliciously to their hurt, thereby to stirre enuie and ielousie towards them; *Pessimum genus inimicorum laudantium.* Certainly moderate praise vsed with oportunity, and not vulgar, but appropriate, is that which doth the good. *Salomon* saith, *Hee that praiseth his friend aloud, rising early, it shall bee to him no better than a curse.* Too much magnifying of man or matter, doth irritate contradiction, and procure enuie and scorne.

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36. Of Iudicature.

Ivdges ought to remēber that their office is *Ius dicere*, and not *Jus dare;* to interprete law, and not to make law, or giue Law; Else will it be like the presumption of the Church of *Rome*, which vnder pretext of exposition of Scripture, vsurpeth and practiseth an authority to adde and alter; and to pronounce that which they doe not finde, and by colour of Antiquity to introduce nouelty. Iudges ought to be more learned then wittie; more reuerend then plausible, & more aduised then confident. Aboue all things integrity is their portion and proper vertue. *Cursed* (saith the Law) *is hee that remooueth the Land-marke.* The mislaier of a Meerestone is too blame. But it is the vniust Iudge that is the capitall remoouer of Land-markes, when hee defineth amisse of lands and property. One foule sentence doth more hurt, then many foule examples; for they doe but corrupt the streame; the other corrupteth the fountaine. So saith *Salomon; Fons turbatus & vena corrupta est iustus cadens in causâ suâ coram adversario;* The office of Iudges may haue reference vnto the parties that sue; vnto the Aduocates that pleade; vnto the Clerkes and Ministers of Iustice vnderneth them; and to the Soueraigne or State aboue them.

There be (saith the Scripture) *that turne iudgement into wormewood;* and surelie there be also that turne it into vinegar: For injustice maketh it bitter, and delaies make it sowre. The principall duty of a Iudge, is to suppresse force and fraude; whereof force is the more pernitious, the more open; and fraud the more close and disguised. Adde thereto contentious suites,

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which ought to be spewed out as the surfet of Courts. A Iudge ought to prepare his way to a iust sentence, as God vseth to prepare his way, by raising valleis and taking downe hils: So when their appeareth on either side an high hand, violent prosecution, cunning aduantages taken, combination, power, great counsell, then is the vertue of a Iudge seene, to make inequality equall; that he may plant his iudgement as vpon an euen ground. *Qui fortiter emungit, elicit sanguinem;* And where the winepresse is hard wrought, it yeelds a harsh wine that tastes of the grapestone. Iudges must beware of hard constructions and strained inferences; for there is no worse torture then the torture of lawes: specially in case of Lawes penall; they ought to haue care that that which was meant for terrour, be not turned into rigour; and that they bring not vpon the people that shower whereof the Scripture speaketh; *Pluet super eos laqueos:* For penall lawes pressed, are a showre of snares vpon the people. In causes of life and death, Iudges ought as farre (as the law permitteth) in iustice to remember mercy; and to cast a seuere eie vpon the example, but a mercifull eie vpon the person.

Patience and grauity of hearing is an essentiall part of iustice, and an ouerspeaking Iudge is no well tuned Cymball. It is no grace to a Iudge, first to finde that which hee might haue heard in due time from the Barre; or to shew quickenesse of conceit in cutting of counsell or euidence too short; or to preuent information by questions, though pertinent. The partes of a Iudge are foure; to direct the euidence; to moderate length, repetition, or impertinency of speech; to recapitulate, select, and collate the materiall points of that which hath beene

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said; and to giue the rule or sentence. Whatsoeuer is aboue these, is too much; and proceedeth either of glory and willingnesse to speake, or of impatience to heare, or of shortnesse of memory, or of want of a staid & equall attention. It is a strange thing to see, that the boldnesse of Aduocates should preuaile with Iudges; whereas they should imitate God, in whose seate they sit, who represseth the presumptuous, and giueth grace to the modest. But it is more strange, that the custome of the time doth warrant Iudges to haue noted fauourites, which cānot but cause multiplication of fees, & suspition of by-waies. There is due from the Iudge to the Aduocate, some commendation and gracing, where causes are well handled & faire pleaded; speciallie towards the side which obtaineth not; For that vpholds in the Client the reputation of his counsel, and beats down in him the conceit of his cause. There is likewise due to the publike a ciuill reprehension of Aduocates, where there appeareth cunning counsell, grosse neglect, slight information, indiscreet pressing, or an ouerbold defence.

The place of Iustice is an hallowed place; and therefore not onely the bench, but the footepace and precincts and purprise thereof ought to bee preserued without scandall and corruption. For certainely *Grapes* (as the Scripture saith) *will not be gathered of thornes or thistles;* neither can Iustice yeeld her fruit with sweetnesse, amongst the briers & brambles of catching and poling Clearkes and Ministers. The attendance of Courts is subject to foure bad instruments; First, certaine persons that are sowers of suits, which make the Court swel, and the Countrey pine. The second sort is of those that ingage Courts in quarrels of Iuris-

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diction, and are not truly, *Amici Curiæ*, but *Parasiti Curiæ*, in puffing a Court vp beyond her bounds for their own scrappes and aduantage. The third sort is of those that may bee accounted the left hands of Courts, persons that are full of nimble and sinister trickes and shiftes, whereby they peruert the plaine and direct courses of Courts, and bring iustice into oblike lines and labirinthes. And the fourth is the Poler and exacter of fees, which iustifies the common resemblance of the Courts of Iustice, to the bush, wherunto while the sheepe flies for defence in weather, hee is sure to lose part of his fleece. On the other side an ancient Clearke, skilfull in presidents, wary in proceeding, and vnderstanding in the businesse of the Court, is an excellent finger of a Court; and doth many times point the way to the Iudge himselfe.

Lastly, Iudges ought aboue al to remember the conclusion of the Roman twelue Tables; *Salus populi suprema lex*, and to know that Lawes, except they bee in order to that ende are but things captious, and Oracles not well inspired. Therefore it is an happy thing in a State, when Kings and States doe often consult with Iudges; and againe, when Iudges doe often consult with the King and State: the one, when there is matter of Law interuenient in businesse of State; the other, when there is some consideration of State interuenient in matter of Lawe. For many times the thing deduced to Iudgement, may be *meũ & tuum*, when the reason and consequence thereof may trench to point of estate; I call matter of estate not only the parts of Soueraignty, but whatsoeuer introduceth any great alteration or dangerous president or concerneth manifestly any great portion of people. And let no

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man weakely conceiue that iust lawes, and true pollicy, haue any antipathy. For they are like the spirits, and sinewes that one moues within the other. Neither ought Iudges to be so ignorant of their owne right, as to thinke there is not left to them as a principall part of their office, a wise use and application of Lawes. For they may remember what the Apostle saith of a greater Law then theirs, *Nos scimus quia lex bona est, modo quis eâ vtatur legitime.*

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37. Of Vaine-glory.

It was pretily deuised of *Æsop*, *The Flies ate vpon the Axletree of the Chariot wheele, and said, What a dust doe I raise?* So are there some vaine persons, that whatsoeuer goeth alone, or moues vpon greater meanes, they thinke it is they that carry it. They that are glorious must needs be factious; for all brauery stands vpon comparisons. They must needes be violent, to make good their owne vaunts. Neither can they bee secret, and therefore not effectuall; but according to the *French* proverb, *Beaucoup de bruit & peu de fruit*, Much bruit, little fruit. Yet certainely there is vse of this quality in ciuill affaires. Where there is an opinion and fame to bee created, either of *Vertue* or *Greatnesse:* these men are good Trumpeters. Again, as *Titus Liuius* noteth in the case of *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*, *There are sometimes greate effects of crosse lies;* as if a man that should interpose himselfe to negotiate between two, should to either of them seuerally pretend, more interest than he hath in the other. And in this and the like kind, it often fals out, that somewhat

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is produced of nothing. For lies are sufficiēt to breed opinion, and opinion brings on substance. But principally in cases of great enterprise, vpon charge and aduenture such composition of glorious natures doth put life into busines, and those that are of solid and sober natures haue more of the ballast, then of the saile. Certainely *Vaine-glory* helpeth to perpetuate a mans memory, and *Vertue* was neuer so beholding to humane nature, as it receiued his due at the second hand. Neither had the fame of *Cicero*, *Seneca*, *Plinius Secundus*, borne her age so well, if it had not beene ioined with some vanity in themselues; like vnto varnish, that makes seelings not onely shine, but last. But all this while, when I speake of *Vaine-glory*, I meane not of that property that *Tacitus* doth attribute to *Mucianus*, *Omnium quæ dixerat feceratque arte quadam ostentator:* For that proceeds not of vanity, but of a natural magnanimity and discretion; and in some persons is not onely comely, but gracious. For excusations, cessions, modesty it selfe well gouerned are but arts of ostentation: and amongst those Arts there is none better, then that which *Plinius Secundus* speaketh of, which is to be liberall of praise & cōmendation to others, in that wherein a mans selfe hath any perfection. For saith *Plinie* very wittily; *In commending another, you do your selfe right; for hee that you commend, is either superiour to you in that you commend or inferiour. If he be inferiour if he be to be commended; you much more; if he be superiour if hee be not to be commended; you much lesse.*

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38. Of the greatnesse of Kingdomes.

The speech of *Themistocles*, which was arrogant in challenge, is profitable in censure. Desired at a banquet to touch a Lute, hee said, *Hee could not fiddle; but he could make a small Towne to become a great Citie.* This speech at a time of solace, and not serious, was vnciuill, and at no time could be decent of a mans selfe. But it may haue a pretie application; For to speake truly of politikes & Statesmen, there are sometimes, though rarely, those that can make a small estate great, and cannot fiddell. And there bee many that can fiddell very cunningly, and yet the procedure of their Art is to make a flourishing estate ruinous & distressed. For certainly those degenerate Arts, whereby diuers politikes and Gouernors doe gaine both satisfactiō with their Masters, and admiration with the vulgar, deserue no better name than fidling; if they adde nothing to the safetie, strength, and amplitude of the States they gouerne. The greatnes of a State in bulke or territory, doth fall vnder measure; & the greatnes of finances & reuenew, doth fall vnder computation: the population may appeare by Musters, and the number of Cities & Towns by Carts and Mappes: but yet there is nothing among ciuill affaires more subiect to error, then the right valuacion and true iudgement cōcerning the greatnes of an estate. Certainly there is a kind of resemblance betweene the Kingdome of heauen, and the Kingdomes vpon the earth. The Kingdome of heauen is compared not to any great kernell, or nut; but to a graine of Musterd; which is one of the least of graines, but hath in it a propertie and spirit hastily to get vp & spread. So are there

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States that are great in Territory, and yet not apt to conquer or inlarge: and others that haue but a small dimention or stemme, and yet apt to be the foundatiō of great Monarchies. Walled Townes, stored Arcenals and Armories, goodly Stables, Elephants, (if you wil) Masse of treasure, Number in Armies, Ordinance, and Artillerie, they are all but a Sheep in a Lions skin, except the breed and disposition of the people be militarie.[1] The helpe is mercenary aides. But a Prince or State that resteth vpon waged Companies of forraine Armes, and not of his owne Natiues, may spread his feathers for a time, but he will mew them soone after. The blessing of *Iudah* and *Issachar* will neuer meet, to be both the Lions whelpe, and the Asse laid betweene burthens: Neither will a people ouercharged with tributes, bee euer fit for Empire. Nobilitie & Gentlemen multiplying in too great a proportion, maketh the common subiect grow to bee a pesant and base swaine driuen out of heart, and but the Gentlemans laborer: like as it is in copices, where if you leaue your staddels too thick, you shall neuer haue cleane vnderwood, but shrubbes and bushes. And take away the middle people, & you take away the infantery, which is the nerue of an Armie: and you bring it to this, that not the hundreth pole will be fit for a helmet, and so great population and little strength. Certainely *Virgil* coupled Armes and the plough together well in the constitution of ancient *Italy;*

Terra potens armis atq; vbere glebæ.

For it is the Plough that yeeldeth the best soldier;

[1] So in the original; and compare p. 381. fourth line from the bottom: whence it appears that I was wrong in stating (vol. xi. p. 45. note 2) that Bacon always wrote either *militar* or *militare*.

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but how? maintained in plentie and in the hand of owners, and not of meere laborers. Sedentary and within-doores Arts, and nice manufactures, that require rather the finger than the hand or arme, haue in their nature a contrariety to a disposition militar: and generally, all warlike people are a little idle, and loue danger better than pain: neither must they be too much broken of it, if they shall be preserued in vigor. No body can be healthfull without exercise, neither naturall body, nor politike; & to the politike body of a Kingdome or estate, a ciuill warre is as the heate of a feuer: but an honourable forraine warre is like the heate of exercise. At least, discoueries, nauigations, honourable succours of other States may keepe health: For in a slothfull peace, both courages will effeminate, and manners corrupt. States liberall of naturalization, are capable of greatnesse; and the iealous states that rest vpon the first tribe & stirpe, quickly want body to carrie the boughes and branches. Many are the ingredients into the receit of greatnesse. No man can by care taking adde a cubit to his stature, in the little modell of a mans body. But certainly in the great frame of Kingdomes and Commonwealths, it is in the power of Princes or Estates by ordinances and constitutions, and maners which they may introduce, to sowe greatness to their posteritie and succession. But these things are commonly left to chance.

FINIS.

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Of Seditions and Troubles.[1]

Sheapards of people had neede knowe the Kalenders of Tempests in State; which are commonlye greatest when things growe to equalitie; as naturall Tempests are greatest about the *æquinoctia.* And as there are certaine hollowe blasts and secrett swellings of Seas before Tempests, so are there in States.

cæcos instare tumultus
Sæpe monet, fraudesque, et operta tumescere bella.

Certainly, libells and licentious discourses are amongst the signes of troubles. *Virgile* giveinge the pedegree of fame, saieth shee was sister to the Gyants.

Illam terra parens ira irritata deorum
Extremam ut perhibent Cœo Enceladoque sororem
Progenuit.

As if fames and rumors were the reliques of seditions past; but they are no lesse the præludes of Seditions to come. But he notes it right, that seditious tumults, and seditious fames, differ noe more, but as masculine and fæminine. Also that kind of obedience (which *Tacitus* describeth in an Army) is to be held suspected; *Erant in officio, sed tamen qui mallent mandata Imperantium interpretari, quam exequi.* When mandats fall to be disputed and distinguished, and new sences given to them, it is the first Essay of disobeying. Also as Machavvell well notes, when Princes that ought to bee common fathers make themselves as a partie, and

[1] Harl. MS. 5106.

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leane to a side in the Estate, it is as a boate that tilts aside before it overthrowes. Also when discordes, and quarrells, and factions are carryed openly and audaciously, it is a signe the reverence of governement is lost. And reverence is that wherewith Princes are girt from God, who threatneth the dissolving thereof, as one of his great judgements: *Solvam cingula regum.* So when anie of the fower pillars of governement are mainely shakened, or weakened, which are Religion, Justice, Councell, and Treasure, men had neede to pray for faier weather. But let us leave the part of predictions, and speake of the materialls, and the causes, and the remedyes. The matter of seditions is of two kindes; much povertye and much discontent. Certainely, so manie overthrowne estates, so manie votes for troubles. *Lucan* noteth well the state of the tymes before the civill warre:

> *Hinc usura vorax, rapidumque in tempore fœnus,*
> *Hinc concussa fides, et multis utile bellum.*

This same *Multis utile bellum* is an assured and infallible signe of a State disposed to troubles and seditions. For discontents, they are the verie humors in the politique body apt to gather a præternatural heate and to inflame. And let not Princes measure the danger of them by this whether they are just or unjust; for that were to imagine people to reasonable; nor yet by this, whether the greifes whereupon they arrise be in true proportion great, or smale; for they are the most dangerous kindes of discontents where the feare is greater then the feeling. The causes and motives of Sedition, are Religion, Taxes, alterations of Lawes and Customes, breakeing priviledges, generall oppres-

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sion, Advauncement of unworthie persons, Straungers, Dearthes, and whatsoever in offending people joyneth them in a common cause. For the remedyes, there maie be some generall preservatives; the cure must aunsweare to the particuler disease. To give moderate libertye for greifes to evaporate, so it be without bravery or importunitye, is a safe way; for hee that tourneth the humours or makes the wound bleede inwardes endaungereth maligne ulcers and pernicious impostumations. Also the part of *Epimetheus* may become *Prometheus* in this case. Hee when greifes and evills flewe abroade yet kept hope in the bottome of the vessell. The politike and artificiall nourishing of some degree of hopes, is one of the best antidotes against the poyson of discontents; and it is a certaine signe of a wise governement if it can hold by hope where it cannott by satisfaction. Also the foresight and prevention, that there be noe likely or fitt head whereunto discontents may resort, and under whom they maie joyne, is a knowne but an excellent pointe of caution. I understand a fitt head to be one that hath greatnesse and reputation, that hath confidence with the discontented partie, and upon whom they tourne theire eyes, and that is thought discontent in his particular. Also the deviding and breaking of anie combination that is adverse to the State is none of the worst remedies. For it is a desperate case if the true parte of the State be full of discord and faction, and the false, entyer and unyted. Lastlie lett Princes against all events not be without some great person of militarye valew neare unto them, for the repressing of seditions in theire beginnings. For without that, there useth to be more trepidation in Courts upon the breaking out of troubles

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then were fitt, and the State runneth the daunger of that which *Tacitus* saieth; *Atque is habitus animorum fuit ut pessimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes paterentur.* But lett such one be an assured one and not popular, and holding good correspondence with the gowne men; or els the remedy is worse then the disease.

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III.

Essays attributed to Bacon without authority.

At the end of the *Resuscitatio* (published in 1657) Dr. Rawley gives what he entitles "A perfect list of his Lordship's true works both in English and Latin;" which he concludes with these words: "as for other pamphlets, whereof there are several, put forth under his Lordship's name, they are not to be owned for his."

Any work therefore (not contained in this list) which had appeared before 1657 in any publication which Dr. Rawley knew of, and had been there ascribed to Bacon, must be regarded as distinctly denied by him to be Bacon's.

Now in December 1642, in which year several of Bacon's smaller political pieces were published in separate pamphlets without any editor's name or any account of the source from which they were taken, there appeared among others a 4to of eight pages with the following title: *An Essay of a King, with an explanation what manner of persons those should be that are to execute the power or ordinance of the King's Prerogative. Written by the Right Honourable Francis, Lord Verulam Viscount Saint Alban. December* 2. *London, Printed for Richard Best*, 1642.

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In 1648 appeared a 4to volume of 103 pages, entitled *The Remaines of the Right Honorable Francis, Lord Verulam, Viscount of St. Albanes, sometimes Lord Chancellour of England; being Essayes and severall letters to severall great Personages, and other pieces of various high concernment not heretofore published. A table whereof for the reader's more ease is adjoyned.—London, printed by B. Alsop for Laurence Chapman and are to be sold at his shop neer the Savoy in the Strand*, 1648.

Most of the pieces in the volume are genuine, and were afterwards published by Rawley from the originals. And it is probably to this collection that he alludes, when he alleges as a reason for publishing some things which Bacon himself did not design for publication, that "through the loose keeping of his Lordship's papers whilst he lived, divers surreptitious copies have been taken; which have since employed the press with sundry corrupt and mangled editions; whereby nothing hath been more difficult than to find the Lord Saint Alban in the Lord Saint Alban; and which have presented (some of them) rather a fardle of nonsense, than any true expression of his Lordship's happy vein;" and that therefore he "thought himself in a sort tied to vindicate those injuries and wrongs done to his Lordship's pen; and at once, by setting forth the true and genuine writings themselves, to prevent the like invasions for the time to come." But whatever the publications may have been to which he alluded, it is hardly conceivable that the existence of this volume was unknown to him; and we must therefore regard all those pieces which it contains, and which are not directly or by implication contained in

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his own "perfect list," as included in his general repudiation. It does not, indeed, follow that none of them are genuine; because Rawley may have been mistaken; but that every such piece was *in his opinion* spurious, can hardly be disputed: and he had such very good means of judging, that his opinion is not to be set aside except upon very strong evidence.

Now the two first pieces in the "Remains" are the contents of the pamphlet of which I have quoted the title. Standing where they do, they could not have been overlooked: yet neither of them is to be found in any of the publications cited in Rawley's "perfect list." The inevitable inference is, that Rawley did not believe them to be the work of Bacon; and certainly in this case there is no evidence internal or external which can justify us in overruling his judgment. The *Essay of a King*, does indeed contain several sentences which are much in Bacon's manner, and which might have been written by him. But the total composition does not read like his; and even if the external evidences had been equally balanced (which is by no means the case; for the fact that *somebody* thought it was Bacon's cannot be taken as a counterpoise to the fact that *Rawley* thought it was not), I should myself have been inclined, upon consideration of the internal evidence alone, to reject it.

The other piece is still less like Bacon's work. Mr. Heath, finding it printed among his writings, and knowing nothing of its history, was at once led to doubt its genuineness, from a consideration of the matter and opinions as well as the style. Had I thought its pretensions more reasonable, I should have reserved it for another place: for it has no affinity to the class of

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works with which we are at present dealing. But as my only business with it is to discredit its pretensions to be admitted among Bacon's works at all, I have thought it better not to separate it from its companion, but to print it here in connexion with the evidence on which the question of its authenticity rests.

Passing over for the present a little piece entitled *Short Notes for Civil Conversation* (the claims of which to a place among Bacon's writings have other evidence to support them, and will be explained hereafter), we come next to a very remarkable composition — *An Essay on Death.* This stands fourth in the volume, and being also too conspicuous to have been overlooked must be regarded as disclaimed by Dr. Rawley. I do not know whether it had been printed before. It is an eloquent and touching composition, very peculiar in style, and marked with a "humorous sadness" which reminds me of nobody so much as Sir Thomas Browne. Sir Thomas Browne was born in 1605, and therefore there is nothing in the date to preclude the supposition that he was the author of it. How far his never having claimed it is to be taken as an objection, or what other difficulties the supposition may involve, I am not well enough acquainted with his biography to judge. But whoever may have written it, I am fully convinced that Bacon did not. Nothing is less probable than that he would have written so grave a thing on so grave a subject merely as an exercise in imitating another man's style; and the style is so unlike his own, that if we suppose him the author of it we must suppose no less. And the only reason we have for imputing it to him is, that within twenty-four years after his death, there was *somebody* or other who thought it was his;

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against which must be set the fact that Rawley thought it was not.

Of two other pieces commonly printed among Bacon's works, and ascribed to him solely, I believe, on the authority of this same volume (to which nobody stands sponsor), — the *Letter of Advice to Sir Edward Coke* on occasion of his being removed from the Chief Justiceship, and a little tract entitled *The Characters of a believing Christian, in Paradoxes and seeming Contradictions*, — I will speak more fully when they come before me in their proper places. That the letter to Coke was written by Bacon, no one can believe who knows what it is about; but this will be most easily explained in connexion with the events to which it relates. And the pretensions of the Christian Paradoxes to a place among Bacon's writings, resting as they do entirely upon internal evidence of style, will be best estimated upon comparison with his other writings on kindred subjects.

An Essay of a King,

Written by Sir Francis Bacon.

1. A King is a mortal God on Earth, unto whom the living God hath lent his own name as a great honour: But withal told him he should die like a man, lest he should be proud and flatter himself, that God hath with his name imparted unto him his nature also.

2. Of all kinds of men, God is least beholding unto them, for he doth most for them, and they do ordinarily least for him.

3. A King that would not feele his Crown too heavy

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for him, must weare it every day, but if he think it too light, he knoweth not of what mettall it is made of.

4. He must make Religion the Rule of government, and not the Scale;[1] for he that casteth in Religion onely to make the scales even, his own weight is contained in these Characters, *Tekel uphrasin*, he is found too light, his Kingdom shall be taken from him.

5. And that King that holds not Religion the best reason of state, is void of all piety and justice, the Supporters of a King.

6. He must be able to give Counsell himself, but not to relye thereupon; for though happy events justifie their Counsells, yet it is better that the evill event of good advice be rather imputed to a Subject then a Sovereigne.

7. He is the Fountain of Honour, which should not run with a wast pipe, lest the Courtiers sell the waters, and then (as papists say of their holy Wels) to lose the vertue.

8. He is the life of the Law, not onely as he is *lex loquens* himself, but because he animateth the dead letter, making it active towards all his Subjects *præmio et pœna.*

9. A wise King must doe lesse in altering his Laws, than he may; for new government is ever dangerous, it being true in the body politique, as in the corporall, that *omnis subita mutatio est periculosa*, and though it be for the better, yet it is not without a fearfull apprehension; For he that changeth the fundamentall Laws of a Kingdome, thinketh there is no good title to a Crown but by conquest.

10. A King that setteth to sale Seats of Justice,

[1] not to Ballance the Scale. *Remains.*

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oppresseth the People; for he teacheth his Judges to sell justice, and *pretio parata pretio venditur Justitia.*

11. Bounty and Magnificence are vertues *vere regiæ*, but a prodigall King is neerer a Tyrant then a parcimonious: for store at home draweth his contemplations abroad: but want supplieth itself of what is next, and many times the next way, and herein he must be wise, and know what he may justly doe.

12. That King which is not feared, is not loved, and he that is well seen in his craft, must as well study to be feared as loved, yet not loved for feare, but feared for love.

13. Therefore as hee must alwayes resemble him whose great name he beareth, and that in manifesting the sweet influence of his mercy on the severe stroke of his Justice sometimes, so in this not to suffer a man of death to live, for besides that the Land doth mourn, the restraint of the Justice towards sin doth more retard the affection of love, than the extent of mercy doth inflame it, and sure where love is bestowed,[1] feare is quite lost.

14. His greatest Enemies are his Flatterers, for though they ever speak on his side, yet their words still make against him.[2]

15. The love which a King oweth to the weal-publike, should not be restrained to any one particular, yet that his more speciall favour do reflect upon some worthy ones, is somwhat necessary, because there are so few of that capacity.

16. Hee must have a speciall care of five things, if hee would not have his Crown to be put upon him.[3]

[1] So in the original, and in the *Remains* also.

[2] So in the *Remains*. The original has "against them."

[3] So in the original. The *Remains* gives "to be put on him *In felix felicitatis.*" Modern editions substitute, correctly perhaps, "to be but to him *infelix felicitas.*"

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First, that *simulata sanctitas*, be not in the Church, for that is *duplex iniquitas*.

Secondly, that *inutilis æquitas*, sit not in the Chancery, for that is *inepta misericordia*.

Thirdly, that *utilis iniquitas*, keep not the Exchequer, for that is *crudele latrocinium*.

Fourthly, that *fidelis temeritas* be not his Generall, for that will bring but *seram pœnitentiam*.

Fifthly, that *infidelis prudentia*, be not his Secretary, for that he is *Anguis sub viridi herba*.

To conclude, as hee is of the greatest power, so hee is subject to the greatest cares, made the servant of his people, or else he were without a calling at all.

He then that honoureth him not, is next an Atheist, wanting the feare of God in his heart.

An explanation what manner of persons those should be, that are to execute the power or Ordinance of the Kings Prerogative, written by the said Sir Francis Bacon, *late Lord Chancellour, and Lord St.* Albans.

THAT absolute Prerogative according to the Kings pleasure revealed by his Lawes, may be exercised and executed by any Subject, to whom power may be given by the King, in any place of Judgement or Commission, which the King by his Law hath ordained, in which the Judge-subordinate cannot wrong the people, the Law laying downe a measure by which every Judge should governe or execute; Against which Law if any Judge proceed, he is by the Law questionable and punishable for his transgression.

In this nature are all the Judges and Commission-

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ers of the Land no otherwise then in their Courts, in which the King in person is supposed to sit, who cannot make[1] that trespasse, Felony or treason which the Law hath not made so to be, neither can punish the guilty by other punishment then the Law hath appointed.

This Prerogative or power as it is over all the Subjects, so being knowne by the Subjects, they are without excuse if they offend; and suffer no wrong, if they be punished. And by this prerogative the King governeth all sorts of people according unto knowne will.

The absolute prerogative which is in Kings according to their private will and judgement cannot be executed by any Subject, neither is it possible to give such power by Commission, or fit to subject the people to the same. For the King in that he is the substitute of God, immediatly the Father of his people, and head of the Common wealth, hath[2] by participation with God and his subjects, Discretion, Iudgement, and feeling love towards those over whom he raigneth only proper to himselfe, or to his places and person, who seeing he cannot in any others diffuse his wisedome, power, or gifts, which God in respect of his place and charge hath enabled him withall, can neither subordinate any other Iudge to governe by that knowledge, which the King can no otherwise then by his knowne will participate unto him. And if any subordinate Iudge shall obtaine Commission according to the discretion[3] of such Iudge to govern the people, that Iudge is bound to think that to be his sound discretion, which[4] the

[1] So *Remains.* The original has "worke."
[2] So *Remains.* The original omits "hath."
[3] So *Remains.* The words "to the discretion" are omitted in the original.
[4] So *Remains.* The original has "in which."

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law in which the Kings known will sheweth unto him[1] to be that Iustice which hee ought to administer: otherwise he might seeme to esteeme himselfe above the Kings law, who will not governe by him, or to have a power derived from other then from the King, which in the Kingdome will administer Iustice contrarie to the justice of the Land. Neither can such a Judge or Commissioner under the name of his high Authoritie shrowde his owne high affection, seeing the Conscience and discretion of every man is particular and private to himselfe; As the discretion of the Judge cannot be properly or possibly the discretion of the King, or conscience of the King; And if not his discretion, neither the Judgement that is ruled by another mans only. Therefore it may seeme they rather desire to bee Kings then to rule the people under the King, which will not administer Justice by law, but by their owne wills.

This Administration in a subject is derogative to the Kings Prerogative, for he administreth Justice out of a private direction, being not capable of a generall direction, how to use the Kings pleasure in Causes of particular respect, which if another then the King himselfe can doe, how can it be so, that any man should desire that which is unfit and impossible, but that it must proceed out of some exorbitant affection, the rather seeing such places to be full of trouble, and being altogether unnecessary, no man will seeke to thrust himselfe into it, but for hope of gaine. Then is not any prerogative oppugned but maintained, though it be desired that every subordinate Magistrate may not

[1] So both copies. It should probably be "in which the king's known will is contained."

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be made supreame, whereby he may seale up the hearts of the people, take from the King the respect due unto him only, or to judge the people otherwise then the King doth himselfe.

And although the Prince be not bound to render any accompt to the Law, which in person administreth it selfe:[1] Yet every subordinate Judge must render an accompt to the King by his lawes how hee hath administred Justice in his place where he is set. But if he hath power to rule by private direction, for which there is no law, how can he be questioned by a law, if in his private censure he offendeth.

Therefore it seemeth that in giving such authority the King ordaineth not subordinate Magistrates, but absolute Kings; And what doth the King leave to himselfe, who giveth so much to others as he hath himself? neither is there a greater bond to tie the subject to his Prince in particular then when he shal have recourse unto him in his person or in his power for releif of the wrongs which from private men be offered, or for reformation of the oppressions which any subordinate Magistrate shall impose upon the people: there can be no offence in the Judge, who hath power to execute according to his discretion, when the discretion of any Judge shall be thought fit to be unlimited;[2] And therefore there can be therein no reformation, whereby the King in this useth no prerogative to gaine his Subjects right. Then the subject is bound to suffer helplesse wrong, and the discontent of the people is cast upon the King, the lawes being neglected, which with their equitie in all

[1] So both copies. It should probably be "himself."
[2] So the original. The *Remains* has "limited."

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other Causes and Judgements, saving this, interpose themselves and yeeld remedy.

And to conclude, Custome cannot confirme that which is any wayes unreasonable of it selfe; Wisedome will not allow that which is many wayes dangerous, and no wayes profitable; Justice will not approve that government, where it cannot be but wrong must be committed. Neither can there be any rule by which to try it, nor meanes for reformation of it.

Therefore whosoever desireth Government, must seeke such as he is capable of, not such as seemeth to himselfe most easie to execute; For it appeareth that it is easie to him that knoweth not law nor justice to rule as he listeth, his will never wanting a power to it selfe: but it is safe and blamelesse both for the Judge and People, and honour to the King, that Judges bee appointed who know the Law, and that they bee limited to governe according to the Law.

An Essay on Death,

By the Lord Chancellor Bacon.[1]

I have often thought upon death, and find it the least of all evils. All that which is past is as a dream; and he that hopes or depends upon time coming, dreams waking. So much of our life as we have discovered is already dead; and all those hours which we share, even from the breasts of our mother, until we return to our grand-mother the earth, are part of our dying days; whereof even this is one, and

[1] *Remains*, p. 7.

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those that succeed are of the same nature; for we die daily; and as others have given place to us, so we must in the end give way to others.

Physicians, in the name of death include all sorrow, anguish, disease, calamity, or whatsoever can fall in the life of man, either grievous or unwelcome: but these things are familiar unto us, and we suffer them every hour; therefore we die daily, and I am older since I affirmed it.

I know many wise men that fear to die; for the change is bitter, and flesh would refuse to prove it: besides, the expectation brings terror, and that exceeds the evil. But I do not believe that any man fears to be dead, but only the stroke of death: and such are my hopes, that if heaven be pleased, and nature renew but my lease for twenty-one years more, without asking longer days, I shall be strong enough to acknowledge without mourning that I was begotten mortal. Virtue walks not in the highway, though she go *per alta;* this is strength and the blood to virtue, to contemn things that be desired, and to neglect that which is feared.

Why should man be in love with his fetters, though of gold? Art thou drowned in security? Then I say thou art perfectly dead. For though thou movest, yet thy soul is buried within thee, and thy good angel either forsakes his guard or sleeps. There is nothing under heaven, saving a true friend, who cannot be counted within the number of moveables, unto which my heart doth lean. And this dear freedom hath begotten me this peace, that I mourn not for that end which must be, nor spend one wish to have one minute added to the incertain date of my years. It was no mean ap-

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prehension of Lucian, who says of Menippus, that in his travels through hell he knew not the kings of the earth from other men, but only by their louder cryings and tears: which was fostered in them through the remorseful memory of the good days they had seen, and the fruitful havings which they so unwillingly left behind them: he that was well seated, looked back at his portion, and was loth to forsake his farm; and others either minding marriages, pleasures, profit, or preferment, desired to be excused from death's banquet: they had made an appointment with earth, looking at the blessings, not the hand that enlarged them, forgetting how unclothedly they came hither, or with what naked ornaments they were arrayed.

But were we servants of the precept given, and observers of the heathens rule *memento mori*, and not become benighted with this seeming felicity, we should enjoy them as men prepared to lose, and not wind up our thoughts upon so perishing a fortune; he that is not slackly strong (as the servants of pleasure), how can he be found unready to quit the veil and false visage of his perfection? The soul having shaken off her flesh, doth then set up for herself, and contemning things that are under, shews what finger hath enforced her; for the souls of idiots are of the same piece with those of statesmen, but now and then nature is at a fault, and this good guest of ours takes soil in an unperfect body, and so is slackened from shewing her wonders; like an excellent musician, which cannot utter himself upon a defective instrument.

But see how I am swarved, and lose my course, touching at the soul, that doth least hold action with death, who hath the surest property in this frail act;

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his stile is the end of all flesh, and the beginning of incorruption.

This Ruler of Monuments leads men for the most part out of this world with their heels forward, in token that he is contrary to life; which being obtained, sends men headlong into this wretched theatre, where being arrived, their first language is that of mourning. Nor in my own thoughts can I compare men more fitly to any thing, than to the Indian fig-tree, which being ripened to his full height, is said to decline his branches down to the earth; whereof she conceives again, and they become roots in their own stock.

So man having derived his being from the earth, first lives the life of a tree, drawing his nourishment as a plant; and made ripe for death he tends downwards, and is sowed again in his mother the earth, where he perisheth not, but expects a quickening.

So we see death exempts not a man from being, but only presents an alteration; yet there are some men, I think, that stand otherwise persuaded. Death finds not a worse friend than an alderman, to whose door I never knew him welcome; but he is an importunate guest, and will not be said nay.

And though they themselves shall affirm that they are not within, yet the answer will not be taken; and that which heightens their fear is, that they know they are in danger to forfeit their flesh, but are not wise of the payment day: which sickly uncertainty is the occasion that (for the most part) they step out of this world unfurnished for their general account, and being all unprovided, desire yet to hold their gravity, preparing their souls to answer in scarlet.

Thus I gather that death is unagreeable to most citi-

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zens, because they commonly die intestate: this being a rule, that when their will is made, they think themselves nearer a grave than before: now they, out of the wisdom of thousands, think to scare destiny, from which there is no appeal, by not making a will, or to live longer by protestation of their unwillingness to die. They are for the most part well made in this world, (accounting their treasure by legions, as men do devils,) their fortune looks towards them, and they are willing to anchor at it, and desire (if it be possible) to put the evil day far off from them, and to adjourn their ungrateful and killing period.

No, these are not the men which have bespoken death, or whose looks are assured to entertain a thought of him.

Death arrives gracious only to such as sit in darkness, or lie heavy burdened with grief and irons; to the poor Christian, that sits bound in the galley; to despairful widows, pensive prisoners, and deposed kings: to them whose fortune runs back, and whose spirit mutinies; unto such death is a redeemer, and the grave a place for retiredness and rest.

These wait upon the shore of death, and waft unto him to draw near, wishing above all others, to see his star, that they might be led to his place, wooing the remorseless sisters to wind down the watch of their life, and to break them off before the hour.

But death is a doleful messenger to an usurer, and fate untimely cuts their thread: for it is never mentioned by him, but when rumours of war and civil tumults put him in mind thereof.

And when many hands are armed, and the peace of a city in disorder, and the foot of the common soldiers

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sounds an alarm on his stairs, then perhaps such a one, (broken in thoughts of his moneys abroad, and cursing the monuments of coin which are in his house), can be content to think of death, and (being hasty of perdition) will perhaps hang himself, lest his throat should be cut; provided that he may do it in his study, surrounded with wealth, to which his eye sends a faint and languishing salute, even upon the turning off; remembering always, that he have time and liberty, by writing, to depute himself as his own heir.

For that is a great peace to his end, and reconciles him wonderfully upon the point.

Herein we all dally with ourselves, and are without proof of necessity.[1] I am not of those that dare promise to pine away myself in vain-glory, and I hold such to be but feat boldness, and them that dare commit it to be vain. Yet for my part, I think nature should do me great wrong, if I should be so long in dying, as I was in being born.[2]

To speak truth, no man knows the lists of his own patience; nor can divine how able he shall be in his sufferings, till the storm come, (the perfectest virtue being tried in action,) but I would (out of a care to do the best business well) ever keep a guard, and stand upon keeping faith and a good conscience.

And if wishes might find place, I would die together, and not my mind often, and my body once; that is, I would prepare for the messengers of death, sickness and affliction, and not wait long, or be attempted by the violence of pain.

[1] So the original. Modern editions read "till necessity:" probably a conjectural correction; and (I suspect) not the true reading.

[2] *them* in the last sentence, and *yet* in this, are omitted in the original.

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Herein I do not profess myself a Stoic, to hold grief no evil, but opinion, and a thing indifferent.

But I consent with Cæsar, that the suddenest passage is easiest, and there is nothing more awakens our resolve and readiness to die, than the quieted conscience, strengthened with opinion that we shall be well spoken of upon earth by those that are just, and of the family of virtue; the opposite whereof is a fury to man, and makes even life unsweet.

Therefore, what is more heavy than evil fame deserved? Or, likewise, who can see worse days, than he that yet living doth follow at the funerals of his own reputation?

I have laid up many hopes, that I am privileged from that kind of mourning, and could wish the like peace to all those with whom I wage love.

I might say much of the commodities that death can sell a man; but briefly, death is a friend of ours, and he that is not ready to entertain him, is not at home. Whilst I am, my ambition is not to fore-flow the tide; I have but so to make my interest of it, as I may account for it; I would wish nothing but what might better my days, nor desire any greater place than the front of good opinion. I make not love to the continuance of days, but to the goodness of them; nor wish to die, but refer myself to my hour, which the great dispenser of all things hath appointed me; yet as I am frail, and suffered for the first fault, were it given me to choose, I should not be earnest to see the evening of my age; that extremity of itself being a disease, and a mere return into infancy: so that if perpetuity of life might be given me, I should think what the Greek poet said, *Such an age is a mortal evil.* And

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since I must needs be dead, I require it may not be done before mine enemies, that I be not stript before I be cold; but before my friends. The night was even now; but that name is lost; it is not now late, but early. Mine eyes begin to discharge their watch, and compound with this fleshly weakness for a time of perpetual rest; and I shall presently be as happy for a few hours, as I had died the first hour I was born.

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DE SAPIENTIA VETERUM.

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PREFACE.

THE treatise *De Sapientia Veterum* was first published in 1609, in a small duodecimo volume, carefully and beautifully printed in the elegant italic type then in use. It appears to have become speedily popular, and was once or twice reprinted during Bacon's life, and translated both into English and Italian. In 1623, he introduced three of the fables, revised and considerably enlarged, into the *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, as a specimen of one of the *Desiderata*. Two others he had designed for the foundation of an elaborate discussion of the philosophy of Democritus, Parmenides, and Telesius; of which a considerable fragment has been preserved. See Preface to *De Principiis atque Originibus*. A year or two before his death he designed to include the whole volume among the *Opera Moralia et Civilia*, of which he was then preparing a collection, and in which it was afterwards published by Dr. Rawley, along with the Latin translations of the History of Henry VII., the Essays, the New Atlantis, and the Dialogue of a Holy War. There can be no doubt therefore that it was a work which he thought well of, and meant to live.

Of the history of it all I know further is, that four of the fables, — namely, *Metis sive Consilium*, *Soror Gigantum sive Fama*, *Cœlum sive Origines*, and *Proteus sive Materia*, — are found in the same form in the frag-

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ment which I have entitled *Cogitationes de Scientiâ Humanâ*, and which I suppose to have been written before 1605. See Preface to the Philosophical Works, Part III.

The object of the work was probably to obtain a more favourable hearing for certain philosophical doctrines of Bacon's own; for it seems certain that the fables themselves could never have suggested the ideas, however a man to whom the ideas had suggested themselves might find or fancy he found them in the fables. But the theory on which his interpretation rests, namely that a period of high intellectual cultivation had existed upon the earth and passed out of memory long before the days of Homer, was, I suppose, seriously entertained by him; nor was it a thing so difficult to believe then as it seems now. When a new continent was first discovered, in which the savage inhabitants were found laden with golden ornaments, it was easy to believe in the rumours of El Dorado; and when the buried fragments of Greek and Roman civilisation were first brought up for the examination of a new age, they might easily suggest to the imagination a world of wonders still unrecovered. But when voyage after voyage returned from America, bringing no confirmation of the first rumours, they ceased to be credible; and now that men have been employed for centuries in diligently collecting and discussing the monuments of antiquity, and yet no further evidence of that period of primeval wisdom has been discovered, the balance of probability turns against the speculation. Comparative philology, coupled with comparative mythology, teaches us to seek for an explanation of the ancient mythes in a new direction; and from these sciences Bacon, though I think

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he would have accepted them as the best guides in the inquiry, could have no help; for they could hardly be said to exist at all in his time. Regarded therefore as attempts to explain the true historical origin of these fables, his interpretations, however elegant and ingenious, may be set aside, as having lost their serious interest for us. And though they would furnish an editor possessed of the requisite learning, and so minded, with an opportunity of displaying a vast deal of erudition, it would, I think, be wasted in this place. In so far as the question could be settled by the light of common sense with such knowledge as Bacon had, little could be added probably on either side to what he has himself said in his prefatory disquisition. In so far as it depends upon the knowledge which has since been acquired concerning the ancient languages and literature of the East, it should be discussed without reference to Bacon, who had no such knowledge, and would in all probability, if it had been revealed to him, have given up his own conjecture as untenable.

The interest which the book still possesses for us (and it has always been a great favourite with me) is of quite another kind; nor has either change of times or increase of knowledge at all abated its freshness. It is an interest precisely of the same kind with that which in the Essays shows no symptoms of becoming obsolete. The interpretation of each fable is in fact an "essay or counsel," civil, moral, or philosophical; embodying the results of Bacon's own thought and observation upon the nature of men and things, and replete with good sense of the best quality.

The great popularity of this book during the first half of the seventeenth century may have been partly

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due to the reputation which it then had among scholars as a work of learning and authority; and if so, the decline of its popularity may be accounted for by the abatement of that reputation. Students of Greek naturally neglect it, because it passes no longer for an orthodox exposition of the meaning of the Greek fables. Students of nature and the business of modern life naturally pass it by, not expecting to find under such a title and in a dead language the sort of entertainment they are in search of. But I see no other reason why it should not be as great a favourite with modern readers and be found as amusing and instructive as the Essays are; the matter being of as good quality, and the form not less attractive.

Upon this view of its character, and having a due regard to my own qualifications, I have thought it best to leave points of learning to those who are more competent to handle them (for the most I could do in that way would be to report conclusions which I am not in a condition to verify), and content myself with endeavouring by means of a new translation to bring the book within reach of the less learned. For though three English translations of it have been published, one of which was once very popular, and all are extant and accessible, I do not find any of them much quoted or referred to now, as if they had obtained any real currency among English readers. Whether my attempt will fare better, remains to be seen; but if I have succeeded in putting into the translation so much of the life of the original, that those who are fond of the Essays may read it with something of the same feeling, I shall not regret the pains I have taken in the matter.

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With regard to the enigma which these ancient mythes present us with, I have said that the researches of modern science teach us to look for the true solution of it in a direction quite different from that which Bacon took. And without affecting to offer anything that can be called an opinion on the subject for myself, I am fortunately able to illustrate my meaning by an example of a modern solution, derived from one whose information includes probably everything that is known with reference to the question at issue, up to the latest dates. I allude to Professor Max Müller's paper on Comparative Mythology in the *Oxford Essays* of 1856.

The difficulty to be explained, as stated by him, is substantially the same as that which Bacon puts forward most prominently among his reasons for concluding that these old fables involved an allegorical meaning. "Let us think," says Professor Müller, "of the times which could bear a Lykurgos and a Solon, — which could found an Areopagos and the Olympic Games, and how can we imagine that, a few generations before that time, the highest notions of the Godhead among the Greeks were adequately expressed by the story of Uranos maimed by Kronos, — of Kronos eating his children, swallowing a stone, and vomiting out alive his whole progeny? . . . . The difficulty is, how at first the human mind was led to such imaginings, — how the names and the tales arose; and unless this question can be answered, our belief in a regular and consistent progress of the human intellect, through all ages and in all countries, must be given up as a false theory."[1] "A fable that is probable," says Bacon, "may be thought to have been composed merely for pleasure, in

[1] *Essay on Comparative Mythology*, pp. 8. 11.

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imitation of history. But when a story is told which could never have entered into any man's head either to conceive or relate on its own account, we must presume that it had some further reach. What a fiction (for instance) is that of Jupiter and Metis! Jupiter took Metis to wife: as soon as he saw that she was with child, he ate her up: whereupon he grew to be with child himself, and so brought forth out of his head Pallas in armour! Surely I think no man had ever a dream so monstrous, and extravagant, and out of all natural ways of thinking."[1] Both agree likewise in concluding that the original story must have involved another meaning; that the names and incidents must have survived after that meaning had been forgotten; and that they have suffered in the hands of poets a variety of alterations, applications, and corruptions. So far the two speculations go together; but at this point they part, and part in opposite directions. Bacon, having only the Greek language and mythology to interpret the Greek fables by, conceived it possible that a generation of wise men had once flourished upon the earth, who taught the mysteries of nature in parables; that they died and their wisdom with them; the parables remaining in memory, merely as tales without meaning. Professor Müller, furnished with materials for a wider induction in the languages and mythologies of all the Eastern nations and races, and finding similar traditions flourishing among them all,—"stories identical in form and in character, whether we find them on Indian, Persian, Greek, Italian, Slavonic, or Teutonic soil,"—and being able likewise to trace the names which figure in many of these stories through their

[1] *De Sap. Vet. Præfatio*, p. 429. of this volume.

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Greek corruptions to their original meaning in the language from which they came, — able, for instance, by help of the *Veda* to identify Daphne with the Dawn (see p. 57) — is led, through a course of reasoning too long for quotation and yet too close for abridgement, to a conclusion much more in accordance with all we know of the progress and vicissitudes of human things; yet one which, if accepted, will be held, I think, to justify me in treating the ideas which Bacon finds in these fables as valuable only for the truth and sense they contain, and not as illustrating antiquity. He traces the origin of these mythes to a time when abstract nouns had not been invented; when men had not learnt to express by single words collective or abstract ideas; when therefore everything was spoken of as a person, with a name and a sex. He conceives that they were in fact merely descriptions of the great phenomena of nature; conveying to those who first uttered them the ideas of morning and evening, summer and winter, dawn, twilight, darkness, &c.; indicating the relations between them by words expressing human relations, human feelings and passions; and thus making every metaphor a story; which, passing into another language in which the original name no longer suggested the original image, lost its metaphorical signification, came to be received and repeated as a story simply, and so grew into what we call a *mythe*. It would not be difficult to suggest analogies even from our own experience, by which it would be seen that the process is a natural one; but I should do injustice to Professor Müller's argument if I attempted to give an idea of the evidence which he brings to support his view. I have said enough, how-

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ever, to enable the reader to enter into his exposition of the fable of Endymion, which will sufficiently illustrate his theory; and which, as we have Bacon's exposition to contrast it with, will serve better than anything else to exhibit the difference between the rival methods of interpretation.

"We can best enter," says he, "into the original meaning of a Greek mythe, when some of the persons who act in it have preserved names intelligible in Greek. When we find the names of Eos, Selene, Helios, or Herse, we have words which tell their own story, and we have a ποῦ στῶ for the rest of the mythe. Let us take the beautiful mythe of Selene and Endymion. Endymion is the son of Zeus and Kalyke, but he is also the son of Aethlios, a king of Elis, who is himself called a son of Zeus, and whom Endymion is said to have succeeded as King of Elis. This localises our mythe, and shows, at least, that Elis is its birth place, and that, according to Greek custom, the reigning race of Elis derived its origin from Zeus. The same custom prevailed in India, and gave rise to the two great royal families of ancient India — the so-called Solar and the Lunar races; and Purûravas, of whom more by and by, says of himself, —

> The great king of day,
> And monarch of the night are my progenitors;
> Their grandson I . . . .

There may, then, have been a King of Elis, Aethlios, and he may have had a son, Endymion; but what the mythe tells of Endymion could not have happened to the King of Elis. The mythe transfers Endymion into Karia, to Mount Latmos, because it was in the Latmian cave that Selene saw the beautiful sleeper, loved him

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and lost him. Now about the meaning of Selene, there can be no doubt; but even if tradition had only preserved her other name, Asterodia, we should have had to translate this synonyme, as Moon, as 'Wanderer among the stars.' But who is Endymion? It is one of the many names of the sun, but with special reference to the setting or dying sun. It is derived from ἐν-δύω, a verb which, in classical Greek, is never used for setting, because the simple verb δύω had become the technical term for sunset. Δυσμαὶ ἡλίου, the setting of the Sun, is opposed to ἀνατόλαι, the rising. Now, δύω meant, originally, to dive into; and expressions like ἡέλιος δ' ἄρ' ἔδυ, the sun dived, presupposes an earlier conception of ἔδυ πόντον, he dived into the sea. Thus Thetis addresses her companions, *Il.* xviii. 140.

> Ὑμεῖς μὲν νῦν δῦτε θαλάσσης εὐρέα κόλπον,
> You may now dive into the broad bosom of the sea.

Other dialects, particularly of maritime nations, have the same expression. In Lat. we find 'Cur *mergat* seras æquore flammas.' In Old Norse, 'Sôl gengr i aegi.' Slavonic nations represent the sun as a woman stepping into her bath in the evening, and rising refreshed and purified in the morning; or they speak of the Sea as the mother of the Sun, and of the Sun as sinking into her mother's arms at night. We may suppose, therefore, that in some Greek dialect ἐνδύω was used in the same sense; and that from ἐνδύω, ἐνδύμα was formed to express sunset. From this was formed ἐνδυμίων, like οὐρανίων from οὐρανός, and like most of the names of the Greek months. If ἐνδύμα had become a common name for sunset, the mythe of Endymion could never have arisen. But the original meaning of Endymion being once forgotten, what was told

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originally of the setting sun was now told of a name, which, in order to have any meaning, had to be changed into a god or a hero. The setting sun *once* slept in the Latmian cave, or cave of night, — Latmos being derived from the same root as Leto, Latona, the night; — but *now* he sleeps on Mount Latmos, in Karia. Endymion, sinking into eternal sleep after a life of but one day, was *once* the setting sun, the son of Zeus — the brilliant Sky, and Kalyke — the covering night (from καλύπτω); or, according to another saying, of Zeus and Protogeneia, the first-born goddess, or the Dawn, who is always represented, either as the mother, the sister, or the forsaken wife of the Sun. *Now* he is the son of a King of Elis, probably for no other reason except that it was usual for kings to take names of good omen, connected with the sun, or the moon, or the stars, — in which case a mythe, connected with a solar name, would naturally be transferred to its human namesake. In the ancient poetical and proverbial language of Elis, people said 'Selene loves and watches Endymion,' instead of 'it is getting late;' 'Selene embraces Endymion,' instead of 'the sun is setting and the moon is rising;' 'Selene kisses Endymion into sleep,' instead of 'it is night.' These expressions remained long after their meaning had ceased to be understood; and as the human mind is generally as anxious for a reason as ready to invent one, a story arose by common consent, and without any personal effort, that Endymion must have been a young lad loved by a young lady, Selene; and if children were anxious to know still more, there would always be a grandmother happy to tell them that this young Endymion was the son

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of the Protogeneia, — she half meaning and half not meaning by that name the Dawn, who gave birth to the sun; or of Kalyke, the dark and covering night. This name, once touched, would set many chords vibrating; three or four different reasons might be given (as they really were given by ancient poets) why Endymion fell into this everlasting sleep, and if any of these was alluded to by a popular poet, it became a mythological fact, repeated by later poets; so that Endymion grew at last almost into a type, no longer of the setting sun, but of a handsome boy beloved of a chaste maiden, and therefore a most likely name for a young prince. Many mythes have thus been transferred to real persons, by a mere similarity of name, though it must be admitted that there is no historical evidence whatsoever that there ever was a Prince of Elis, called by the name of Endymion.

"Such is the growth of a legend, originally a mere word, a μύθος, probably one of those many words which have but a local currency, and lose their value if they are taken to distant places, — words useless for the daily intercourse of thought, — spurious coins in the hands of the many, — yet not thrown away, but preserved as curiosities and ornaments, and deciphered at last, after many centuries, by the antiquarian."[1]

I give this specimen merely to explain and illustrate the modern theory. For the argument in support of it I must refer to the Essay itself; though even there it suffers much for want of room. But that the process described is possible and natural, may be shown

[1] Oxford Essays, 1856, p. 49.

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meanwhile without going out of our own literature or our own times.

> The poetry of earth is never dead:

and even within the last ten years an instance has occurred of the simple language of poetic passion being translated out of poetry into mythology. Alfred Tennyson speaks in *In Memoriam* of returning home in the evening

> Before the crimson-circled star
> Had fallen into her father's grave:

not thinking at all of any traditional pedigree, (no more than when he speaks of

> Sad Hesper, o'er the buried Sun,
> And ready thou to die with him,)

but expressing, by such an image as the ancient Elian might have resorted to, his sympathy with the pathetic aspect of the dying day. Critics however asked for explanations: what star, whose daughter, what grave? And it turns out curiously enough that all these questions can be answered out of Greek mythology quite satisfactorily. "The planet Venus (says a Belgravian correspondent of *Notes and Queries*, 1851, iii. 506), when she is to the east of the sun, is our *evening star* (and as such used to be termed Hesperus by the ancients). The evening star in a summer twilight is seen surrounded with the glow of sunset, crimson-circled. . . . . Venus sinking into the sea, which in setting she would appear to do, falls into the grave of *Uranus*, — her father according to the theory of Hesiod (190). The part cast into the sea from which Aphrodite sprung, is here taken by a becoming licence (which softens the grossness of the old tradi-

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tion) for the whole; so that the ocean, beneath the horizon of which the evening star sinks, may be well described by the poet as '*her* father's grave.'"

I would not indeed have any one remember this explanation when he is reading the poem, for it is fatal to the poetic effect; but the coincidence of the expression with the mythic tradition is curious; and might almost make one think that Tennyson, while merely following the eternal and universal instincts of the human imagination and feeling, had unconsciously reproduced the very image out of which the tradition originally grew.

In Dr. Rawley's list of works composed by Bacon during the last five years of his life, he mentions "his revising of his book *De Sapientia Veterum*." And as he professes to give them in the order in which they were written, and this comes near the end, I suppose he does not allude merely to the three fables introduced into the second book of the *De Augmentis*, which was published in 1623; but to some further revision of the whole previous to the reprinting of the work among the *Opera Moralia et Civilia*. I have therefore treated that posthumous edition (which varies in a few, though very few, passages from the original of 1609), as the latest authority for the text. But as it is not so carefully printed as the other, I have collated the two throughout, and noticed the variations. I have also kept the title-page of the original edition; and I have followed modern editors in making the interpretation of each fable commence a new paragraph.

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FRANCISCI BACONI

EQUITIS AURATI,

PROCURATORIS SECUNDI JACOBI REGIS MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ,

DE SAPIENTIA VETERUM

LIBER,

AD INCLYTAM ACADEMIAM CANTABRIGIENSEM.

LONDINI,

Excudebat ROBERTUS BAKERUS, Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestatis Typographus.

ANNO 1609.

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ILLUSTRISSIMO VIRO

COMITI SARISBURIENSI,

SUMMO THESAURARIO ANGLIÆ, ET CANCELLARIO ACADEMIÆ CANTABRIGIENSIS.

Quæ Academiæ Cantabrigiensi dicantur, tibi jure Cancellarii accrescunt: quæ autem a me proficisci possunt omnia, tibi nomine proprio debentur. Illud magis videndum, num ista, ut tibi debita, ita etiam te digna sint. Atque quod in illis minimum est (ingenium authoris) id, propter tuum propensum in me animum, nihil officiet; cætera dedecori non erunt. Nam si tempus spectetur; antiquitas primæva summam venerationem habet: Si docendi forma; Parabola veluti arca quædam est, in qua pretiosissima quæque scientiarum reponi consueverunt: Si operis materia; ea philosophia est, vitæ scilicet atque animæ humanæ decus secundum. Fas sit enim dixisse, quamvis philosophia, seculo nostro veluti per senium repuerascens, adolescentibus et fere pueris relinquatur; eam tamen omnium rerum, post religionem, gravissimam atque natura humana maxime dignam esse plane censeo. Etiam politica, in qua te mirabilem præbes, et facultate et

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meritis et sapientissimi regis judicio, ab eodem fonte emanat, ejusque pars magna est. Quod si cui ista quæ affero vulgata esse videantur; certe quid effecerim, judicium meum non est; id tamen secutus sum, ut manifesta, et obsoleta, et locos communes prætervectus, aliquid etiam ad vitæ ardua et scientiarum arcana conferam. Erunt itaque captui vulgari vulgaria: altiorem autem intellectum fortasse non deserent, sed potius (ut spero) deducent. Verum dum huic operi dignitatem nonnullam adstruere conor, quod ad te dicatum sit; periculum est, ne modestiæ fines transeam, cum a me sit susceptum. Tu vero illud tanquam pignus affectus erga te mei, et observantiæ, et animi maxime devoti accipies, eique præsidium nominis tui imperties. Quare cum tot et tanta sustineas, tempora tua diutius non morabor; sed finem faciam, tibi felicia omnia comprecatus, et perpetuo futurus

Tibi, et studio suo, et beneficiis tuis devinctissimus,

FRA. BACONUS.

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ALMÆ MATRI,

INCLYTÆ ACADEMIÆ CANTABRIGIENSI.

Cum sine philosophia me certe nec vivere juvet, merito vos in magno honore habeo, a quibus mihi ista vitæ præsidia et solatia fluxerint. Itaque hoc nomine et me et mea vobis debere profiteor, quo minus mirum sit, si vos vestris remunerem; ut motu naturali redeant a quo traxerint originem. Et tamen, nescio quomodo, rara videntur *vestigia vos retrorsum spectantia;* cum infinita a vobis profecta sint. Nec nimium mihi sumam (ut opinor), si sperem, propter rerum usum mediocrem, quod nostrum vitæ genus et institutum necessario traxit, nonnullam ad hominum doctorum inventa, per hæc nostra, factam esse accessionem. Equidem in ea opinione sum, contemplationes, in vitam activam translatas, nonnihil novi decoris et vigoris acquirere; et suppetente uberiore materia, et[1] magis altas fortasse radices agere, aut certe magis proceras et frondosas evadere. Neque vos (ut arbitror) ipsi nostis, quam late pateant vestra, quamque ad multa pertineant.

[1] So in both editions. But I think the second *et* should have been struck out.

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Æquum est tamen omnia vobis attribui, atque in vestrum honorem cedere, cum accessiones quæque principiis magna ex parte debeantur. Neque vero ab homine occupato aliquid exquisitum, aut otii miracula et prærogativas requiretis; sed et hoc amori meo summo erga vos et vestra tribuetis, quod intra rerum civilium spinas hæc non prorsus perierint, sed vobis vestra servata sint. Valete.

Alumnus vester amantissimus,

FRA. BACONUS.

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PRÆFATIO.

Antiquitatem primævam (exceptis quæ in sacris literis habemus) oblivio et silentium involvit: silentia antiquitatis fabulæ poëtarum exceperunt: fabulis tandem successere scripta quæ habemus; adeo ut antiquitatis penetralia et recessus a sequentium sæculorum memoria et evidentia, tanquam velo fabularum, discreta et separata sint; quod se interposuit et objecit medium, inter ea quæ perierunt, et ea quæ extant. Equidem existimo plerosque in ea opinione fore, me delicias ac ludos facere; atque similem fere licentiam in transferendis fabulis usurpare, ac ipsi poëtæ sibi sumpserint in fingendis; quod pro meo jure sane facere possem, ut contemplationibus magis arduis hæc ad voluptatem, sive meditationis propriæ sive lectionis alienæ, aspergerem. Neque me latet quam versatilis materia sit fabula, ut huc illuc trahi, imo et duci possit; quantumque ingenii commoditas et discursus valeat, ut quæ nunquam cogitata sint belle tamen attribuantur. Etiam illa cogitatio animum subit, usum hujusce rei jampridem contaminatum esse: multi enim, ut inventis et placitis suis antiquitatis venerationem acquirerent, poëtarum fabulas ad ea traducere conati sunt. Atque vetus illa vanitas et frequens, nec nuper nata, aut raro usurpata est. Nam et olim Chrysippus Stoicorum opiniones vetustissimis

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poëtis, veluti somniorum aliquis interpres, ascribere solebat; et magis insulse Chymici ludos et delicias poëtarum in corporum transformationibus ad fornacis experimenta transtulerunt. Hæc (inquam) cuncta nobis satis et explorata et expensa sunt; omnemque ingeniorum circa allegorias levitatem et indulgentiam perspeximus et notavimus, neque propterea omnino de sententia decedimus. Primo enim, absit ut paucorum ineptiæ et licentia parabolarum honori in genere detrahant. Hoc enim prophanum quiddam sonat et audax, cum hujusmodi velis et umbris religio gaudeat, ut qui eas tollat commercia divinorum et humanorum fere interdicat. Verum de humana sapientia videamus. Fateor certe ingenue et libenter, me in hanc sententiam propendere, ut non paucis antiquorum poëtarum fabulis mysterium et allegoriam jam ab origine subesse putem; sive captus veneratione prisci sæculi, sive quod in nonnullis fabulis reperio tantam et tam evidentem cum significato similitudinem et conjunctionem, tum in textura ipsa fabulæ, tum in proprietate nominum quibus personæ sive actores fabulæ insigniti et veluti inscripti prodeunt; ut sensum illum ab initio præceptum et cogitatum fuisse, et de industria adumbratum, nemo constanter negaverit. Quis enim ita durus est et ad aperta cæcutiens, ut cum audiat Famam, Gigantibus exstinctis, tanquam sororem posthumam progenitam esse, non illud ad murmura partium et famas seditiosas, quæ sopitis rebellionibus ad tempus vagari solent, referat? Aut cum audiat Typhonem gigantem nervos Jovis secuisse et abstulisse, ac Mercurium eos suffuratum esse, et Jovi reddidisse, non statim advertat hoc ad rebelliones prævalidas pertinere, quæ regibus nervos et pecuniarum et authoritatis incidunt, ita tamen ut per sermonum

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comitatem et prudentia edicta animi subditorum non ita multo post quasi furtim reconcilientur, et vires regibus restituantur? Aut cum audiat, in illa memorabili Deorum contra gigantes expeditione, asinum Sileni cum ruderet maximi momenti ad profligandos gigantes fuisse; non liquido cogitet hoc de vastis rebellium conatibus, qui plerumque per inanes rumores et terrores vanos dissipantur, confictum fuisse? Etiam nominum conformitas et indicium cui tandem hominum obscurum esse potest? cum Metis uxor Jovis plane consilium sonet; Typhon tumorem; Pan universum; Nemesis vindictam: et similia. Neque illud quenquam moveat, si aliquid interdum historiæ subsit, aut si nonnulla ornamenti gratia addita sint, aut si tempora confundantur, aut si ex una fabula quippiam transferatur in aliam, et nova allegoria inducatur. Necesse enim fuit hæc fieri, cum inventa virorum fuerint qui et ætate disjuncti et instituto diversi erant; cum alii antiquiores, alii recentiores fuerint, alii rursus naturam rerum, alii res civiles sibi proponerent. Habemus etiam et aliud sensus occulti et involuti signum non parvum, quod nonnullæ ex fabulis tam absurdæ narratione ipsa et insulsæ inveniantur, ut parabolam etiam ex longinquo ostentent, et veluti clament. Quæ enim probabilis est fabula, etiam ad voluptatem et historiæ similitudinem conficta existimari potest; quod autem nulli in mentem venisset cogitare aut narrare, id in alios usus quæsitum videtur. Quale enim figmentum illud? Jovem Metin in uxorem accepisse, eamque statim ut gravidam sensisset comedisse, unde ipse gravidus fieri cœpit, et Palladem armatam ex capite peperit? Equidem existimo nulli mortalium obvenire vel somnium tam extra cogitationis vias situm et monstrosum. Ante omnia illud apud nos

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maxime valuit, et plurimum ponderis habuit, quod ex fabulis complures nullo modo nobis videntur ab eis inventæ, a quibus recitantur et celebrantur, Homero, Hesiodo, reliquis; si enim liquido nobis constitisset eas ab illa ætate atque illis authoribus manasse a quibus commemorantur et ad nos devenerunt, nil magni certe aut excelsi ab hujusmodi origine nobis (ut nostra fert conjectura) expectare aut suspicari in mentem venisset. Verum si quis attentius rem consideret, apparebit illas tradi et referri tanquam prius creditas et receptas, non tanquam tum primo excogitatas et oblatas. Quinetiam cum diversis modis a scriptoribus fere coævis referantur, facile cernas, quod commune habent, ex veteri memoria desumptum; in quo variant,[1] ex singulorum ornatu additum. Atque hæc res existimationem earum apud nos auxit, ac si nec ætatis nec inventionis poetarum ipsorum essent; sed veluti reliquiæ sacræ et auræ tenues temporum meliorum; quæ ex traditionibus nationum magis antiquarum in Græcorum tubas et fistulas incidissent. Quod si quis obstinato animo contendat, allegoriam in fabula semper subdititiam et impositam, nec omnino nativam et genuinam fuisse; ei molesti non erimus, sed gravitatem illam judicii quam affectat, licet hebetiorem et fere plumbeam, remittemus; atque illum (si modo dignus sit) alio modo tanquam de integro adoriemur. Duplex apud homines repertus est atque increbuit parabolarum usus, atque, quod magis mirum sit, ad contraria valet.[2] Faciunt enim parabolæ ad involucrum et velum; faciunt etiam ad lumen et illustrationem. Atque misso illo usu priore (potius quam lites suscipiamus), et receptis fabulis antiquis, tanquam rebus vagis et ad delectationem compositis; manet tamen

[1] *quod varium.* Ed. 1609. [2] *adhibetur.* Ed. 1609.

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proculdubio posterior iste usus, neque ulla ingenii violentia nobis extorqueri possit, neque impediet quisquam (qui sit mediocriter doctus) quin protinus recipiatur modus iste docendi,[1] tanquam res gravis et sobria, atque omnis vanitatis expers, et scientiis apprime utilis, imo et quandoque[2] necessaria; nimirum ut in inventis novis et ab opinionibus vulgaribus remotis et penitus abstrusis, aditus ad intellectum humanum magis facilis et benignus per parabolas quæratur. Itaque antiquis sæculis, cum rationis humanæ inventa et conclusiones, etiam eæ quæ nunc tritæ et vulgatæ sunt, tunc temporis novæ et insuetæ essent, omnia fabularum omnigenum, et ænigmatum, et parabolarum, et similitudinum plena erant: atque per hæc docendi ratio, non occultandi artificium, quæsitum est; rudibus scilicet tunc temporis hominum ingeniis, et subtilitatis, nisi quæ sub sensum cadebat, impatientibus et fere incapacibus. Nam ut hieroglyphica literis, ita parabolæ argumentis erant antiquiores. Atque etiam nunc, si quis novam in aliquibus lucem humanis mentibus affundere velit, idque non incommode et aspere, prorsus eadem via insistendum est, et ad similitudinum auxilia confugiendum. Quare quæ dicta sunt ita claudemus. Sapientia prisci sæculi, aut magna aut felix fuit: magna, si de industria excogitata est figura sive tropus: felix, si homines aliud agentes materiam et occasionem tantæ contemplationum dignitati præbuere. Operam autem nostram (si quid in ea sit quod juvet) in neutra re male collocatam censebimus. Aut enim antiquitatem illustrabimus, aut res ipsas. Neque nescius esse possum[3] hanc rem ab

[1] The words *modus iste docendi* are omitted in Ed. 1609.
[2] *atque adeo.* Ed. 1609.
[3] *neque possum ignorare.* Ed. 1609.

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aliis tentatam esse: sed tamen, ut quod sentiam eloquar, idque non fastidiose, sed libere, ejus[1] decus et virtus ex hujusmodi laboribus, licet magnis et operosis, fere periit; dum homines, rerum imperiti et non ultra locos certos communes docti, parabolarum sensus ad vulgaria quædam et generalia applicaverunt, atque earundem vim veram, et proprietatem genuinam, ac indagationem altiorem, non attigerunt. Nos autem erimus (ni fallimur) in rebus vulgatis novi, et aperta et plana a tergo relinquentes, ad ulteriora et nobiliora tendemus.

[1] *rei.* Ed. 1609.

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DE SAPIENTIA VETERUM.

I.

CASSANDRA,

SIVE PARRHESIA.

NARRANT Cassandram ab Apolline adamatam fuisse, atque variis artificiis ejus desideria elusisse, spes nihilominus fovisse, quousque donum divinationis ab eo extorsisset; tum vero, nactam quod ab initio dissimulatione sua quæsivisset, preces ejus aperte rejecisse: illum, cum quod temere largitus erat nullo modo revocare posset, et tamen vindicta arderet, nec fœminæ callidæ ludibrio esse vellet, muneri suo pœnam addidisse; ut illa quidem vera semper prædiceret, sed nemo ei crederet: itaque vaticiniis ejus veritas affuit;[1] fides defuit: quod illa perpetuo experta est etiam in excidio patriæ suæ, de qua sæpius monuerat, nemine auscultante aut credente.

Fabula de intempestiva et inutili libertate consiliorum et monitorum conficta videtur: qui enim ingenio sunt pervicaci et aspero, nec se Apollini, id est, Deo Harmoniæ, submittere volunt, ut rerum modos et mensuras, sermonumque veluti tonos acutos et graves, aurium

[1] *mansit.* Ed. 1609.

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etiam magis peritarum et magis vulgarium differentias, tempora denique tum loquendi tum silendi, ediscant et observent; licet sint prudentes et liberi, et consilia afferant sana et bona, nunquam tamen fere suasu et impetu suo proficiunt, neque ad res tractandas efficaces sunt; sed potius exitium eis apud quos se ingerunt maturant, et tum demum post calamitatem et eventum, ut vates et in longum prospicientes celebrantur. Atque hujus rei exemplum eminet in M. Catone Uticensi. Ille enim interitum patriæ, et tyrannidem primo ex conspiratione deinde ex contentione Cæsaris cum Pompeio secutam, diu ante tanquam e specula prævidit, et tanquam ex oraculo prædixit: sed nil profecit interim, verum obfuit potius, et mala patriæ acceleravit. Id quod prudenter advertit, et eleganter describit M. Cicero, cum ad amicum ita scribat: *Cato optime sentit, sed nocet interdum reipublicæ: loquitur enim tanquam in republica Platonis, non tanquamin fœce Romuli.*

II.

TYPHON,

SIVE REBELLIS.

NARRANT poëtæ Junonem, indignatam quod Jupiter Palladem ex sese sine ea peperisset, omnes deos atque deas precibus fatigasse, ut ipsa etiam sine Jove partum ederet. Et postquam violentiæ et importunitati ejus annuissent, terram illa concussit, ex quo motu Typhon natus est, monstrum ingens et horrendum. Ille serpenti veluti nutritio datus est, ut ab eo aleretur. Nec mora, postquam adolevisset, quin bellum Jovi moveret.

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In eo conflictu Jupiter in potestatem gigantis venit, qui illum in humeros sublatum in regionem remotam et obscuram transportavit, et concisis nervis et manuum et pedum, et secum abreptis, mancum et mutilatum reliquit. Mercurius autem nervos Jovis Typhoni suffuratus est, atque eos Jovi restituit. Jupiter confirmatus, belluam rursus impetiit; ac primum fulmine vulneravit, ex cujus sanguine serpentes nati sunt. Tum demum ruentem et fugientem (Ætnam super eum jaculatus) mole montis oppressit.

Fabula de fortuna regum varia et rebellionibus quæ in monarchiis quandoque evenire consueverunt conficta est. Reges enim regnis suis, ut Jupiter Junoni, veluti matrimonii vinculo juncti recte censentur: sed accidit nonnunquam ut imperandi consuetudine depravati et in tyrannidem vergentes, omnia ad se trahant, et contempto ordinum et senatus sui consensu, ex sese pariant: id est, ex arbitrio proprio et imperio mero cuncta administrent. Id populi ægre ferentes, et ipsi moliuntur caput aliquod rerum ex sese creare et extollere. Ea res ex occulta sollicitatione nobilium et procerum fere initia sumit, quibus conniventibus, tum populi suscitatio tentatur; ex qua tumor quidam rerum (per Typhonis infantiam significatus) sequitur. Atque iste rerum status ab insita plebis pravitate et natura maligna (serpente regibus infestissimo) nutricatur. Defectione autem viribus coalita, postremo res in apertam rebellionem erumpit; quæ, quia infinita mala et regibus et populis infligit, sub dira illa Typhonis effigie repræsentatur, in qua centum capita ob divisas potestates, ora flammantia ob incendia, anguium cingula ob pestilentias (præsertim in obsidionibus), manus ferreæ ob cædes, ungues aquilini ob rapinas, corpus plumis con-

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tectum ob perpetuos rumores et nuncios et trepidationes, et hujusmodi. Atque interdum rebelliones istæ tam prævalidæ sunt, ut reges cogantur, tanquam a rebellibus transportati, relictis regni sedibus et urbibus primariis, vires contrahere, et in remotam aliquam et obscuram provinciam ditionis suæ se recipere, nervis et pecuniarum et majestatis accisis: sed tamen non ita multo post, fortunam prudenter tolerantes, virtute et industria Mercurii nervos recipiunt; hoc est, affabiles facti, et per edicta prudentia et sermones benignos reconciliatis subditorum animis et voluntatibus, tandem alacritatem ad impensas conferendas, et novum auctoritatis vigorem excitant. Nihilominus, prudentes et cauti, aleam fortunæ tentare plerunque nolunt, et a pugna abstinent, sed tamen operam dant ut aliquo facinore memorabili existimationem rebellium frangant. Quod si ex voto succedat, illi, vulneris accepti conscii, et rerum suarum trepidi, primo ad fractas et inanes minas, veluti serpentum sibilos, se vertunt. Deinde, rebus desperatis, fugam capessunt. Atque tum demum, postquam ruere incipiant, tutum est et tempestivum regibus, copiis et universa mole regni, tanquam Ætnæ monte, eos persequi et opprimere.

III.

CYCLOPES,

SIVE MINISTRI TERRORIS.

Narrant Cyclopes ob feritatem et immanitatem primo a Jove in Tartarum detrusos, et perpetuo carceri adjudicatos fuisse: verum postea Tellus Jovi per-

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suasit, ei non abs re fore, si eos vinclis liberaret, et eorum opera ad fulmina fabricanda uteretur. Quod et factum est, atque illi officiosi et industrii fulmina atque alia terroris instrumenta assiduo opere et minaci strepitu fecerunt. Tempore autem labente evenit ut Jupiter Æsculapio Apollinis filio succenseret, ob hominem medicina a morte excitatum; iram autem tegens (quia parum justa indignandi causa suberat ob facinus pium et celebre) Cyclopes in eum secreto instigavit, qui nihil cunctati fulmine eum interemere: in cujus rei vindictam, Apollo Jove non prohibente sagittis eos confecit.

Fabula ad regum facta pertinere videtur. Illi enim ministros sævos et sanguinarios et exactores primo suppliciis afficiunt, et a rebus summovent. Postea ex consilio Telluris, id est, ignobili et parum honorifico, prævalente utilitate eos rursus adhibent, sicubi aut executionum severitate aut exactionum acerbitate opus est. Illi natura truces, et ex priore fortuna exasperati, et satis sentientes quid ab illis expectetur, miram diligentiam in hujusmodi rebus præstant; sed parum cauti, et ad gratiam ineundam et aucupandam præcipites, aliquando ex secretis principum nutibus et incertis mandatis invidiosam aliquam executionem peragunt. Principes autem invidiam declinantes, et satis gnari hujusmodi instrumenta nunquam sibi defutura, eos destituunt: et propinquis et amicis eorum qui pœnas subierunt atque horum delationibus et vindictæ et odio populari eos relinquunt, unde magno plausu, et[1] prosperis in reges votis et acclamationibus, sero magis quam immerito pereunt.

[1] *ex.* Ed. 1609.

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IV.

NARCISSUS,

SIVE PHILAUTIA.

Narcissus fuisse traditur forma et venustate mirabilis, sed suberat superbia ingens, et fastidium intolerandum. Itaque cum sibi placeret, alios despiceret, vitam egit solitariam in sylvis et venationibus, cum paucis comitibus, quibus ipse omnia erat. Assectabatur etiam eum ubique nympha Echo. In hoc vitæ instituto fatale ei erat ad fontem quendam limpidum venire, et juxta eum sub æstum mediæ diei decumbere. Cum autem in aqua imaginem propriam aspexisset, in contemplationem sui, ac deinde in admirationem effusus et raptus, nullo modo ab hujusmodi spectro et simulacro distrahi poterat; sed perpetuo defixus obtorpuit; ac tandem in florem nominis sui conversus est; qui flos ineunte vere se ostendit, et diis inferis, Plutoni, Proserpinæ, et Eumenidibus sacer est.

Fabula illorum et ingenia et fortunas repræsentare videtur, qui sive ob formam sive ob aliqua salias dotes quibus ab ipsa natura, nulla accedente industria propria, ornati et insigniti sunt, effuse seipsos amant, et quasi depereunt. Cum hoc enim animi statu conjunctum fere est, ut non multum in publico, aut in rebus civilibus versentur; cum in eo vitæ genere necesse sit occurrere multos neglectus et vilipendia, quæ animos eorum dejicere et turbare possint. Itaque vitam plerunque degunt solitariam et privatam et umbratilem, cum perpauco comitum delectu, eoque ex iis qui illos magnopere colere et admirari videntur, quique illis veluti echo in

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omnibus dictis suis assentantur, et verborum obsequia præstant. Ex hac consuetudine depravatos et inflatos, et tandem admiratione sui ipsius attonitos, mira occupat desidia et inertia, ut prorsus torpeant, et omni vigore et alacritate destituantur. Eleganter autem sumitur flos vernus ad hujusmodi ingeniorum similitudinem, cum illa ingenia sub initia sua floreant et celebrentur, sed ætate confirmata expectationem de iis conceptam destituant et frustrentur. Eodem pertinet, quod flos ille diis inferis sacer sit; quia homines talis indolis ad omnia inutiles prorsus evadunt. Quicquid autem nullum ex se fructum edit, sed (veluti via navis in mari) transit et labitur, id apud antiquos umbris et diis inferis consecrari solebat.

V.

STYX,

SIVE FŒDERA.

Pervulgata est narratio, et in compluribus fabulis interponitur, de unico illo juramento, quo dii superi se obstringere solebant, cum pœnitentiæ locum sibi nullo modo relinqui volebant. Illud juramentum nullam majestatem cœlestem, nullum attributum divinum advocabat et testabatur; sed Stygem, fluvium quendam apud inferos, qui atria Ditis, multis spiris interfusus, cingebat. Hæc enim formula sacramenti sola, neque præter eam alia quæpiam, firma habita est et inviolabilis: scilicet incumbebat pœna perjurii, diis imprimis metuenda, ut qui fefellisset ad deorum convivia per certa annorum spatia non accederet.

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Fabula de fœderibus et pactis principum conficta videtur: in quibus illud nimio plus quam oporteret verum est, fœdera quacunque solennitate et religione juramenti munita parum firma esse; adeo ut fere ad existimationem quandam et famam et ceremoniam, magis quam ad fidem et securitatem et effectum adhibeantur. Quin si accesserint etiam affinitatis vincla, veluti Sacramenta Naturæ, si merita mutua, tamen omnia infra ambitionem et utilitatem et dominationis licentiam esse apud plerosque reperiuntur. Tanto magis, quod principibus facile sit per prætextus varios et speciosos cupiditates suas et fidem minus sinceram (nemine rerum arbitro, cui ratio sit reddenda) tueri et velare. Itaque unum assumitur verum et proprium fidei firmamentum, neque illud divinitas aliqua cœlestis: ea est Necessitas (magnum potentibus numen), et periculum status, et communicatio utilitatis. Necessitas autem per Stygem eleganter repræsentatur, flumen fatale et irremeabile. Atque hoc numen advocavit ad fœdera Iphicrates Atheniensis, qui quoniam inventus est qui ea aperte loqueretur quæ plerique tacite animo volvunt, non abs re sit ipsius verba referre. Is cum Lacedæmonios varias cautiones et sanctiones et fœderum firmamenta et vincula excogitare et proponere animadverteret, interfatus: *Unum* (inquit) *Lacedæmonii, nobis vobiscum vinculum et securitatis ratio esse possit, si plane demonstretis, vos ea nobis concessisse et inter manus posuisse, ut vobis facultas lædendi nos, si maxime velletis, minime suppetere possit.* Itaque si facultas lædendi sublata sit, aut si ex fœdere rupto periculum ingruat perditionis aut diminutionis status aut vectigalium, tum demum fœdera rata et sancta et tanquam juramento Stygis confirmata censeri possint: cum metus subsit

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interdicti illius et suspensionis a conviviis deorum; sub quo nomine imperii jura et prærogativæ et affluentia et felicitas antiquis significantur.

VI.

PAN,

SIVE NATURA.

Fabula hæc invenitur, in libro secundo De Augmentis Scientiarum, aucta et locupletata.

ANTIQUI universam naturam sub persona Panis diligentissime descripserunt. Hujus generationem in dubio relinquunt. Alii enim asserunt eum a Mercurio genitum; alii longe aliam generationis formam ei tribuunt; aiunt enim procos universos cum Penelope rem habuisse, ex quo promiscuo concubitu Pana communem filium ortum esse. Atque in hac posteriore narratione, proculdubio, aliqui ex recentioribus veteri fabulæ nomen Penelopes imposuere, quod et frequenter faciunt, cum narrationes antiquiores ad personas et nomina juniora traducunt, idque quandoque absurde et insulse; ut hic cernere est; cum Pan ex antiquissimis diis, et longe ante tempora Ulyssis fuerit, atque insuper Penelope ob matronalem castitatem antiquitati venerabilis haberetur. Neque prætermittenda est tertia illa generationis explicatio: quidam enim prodiderunt eum Jovis et Hybreos, id est, Contumeliæ, filium fuisse. Utcunque orto, Parcæ illi sorores fuisse perhibentur. Effigies autem Panis talis ab antiquitate describitur: cornutus, cornibus usque ad cœlum fastigiatis, corpore toto hispidus et villosus, barba imprimis promissa. Figura biformis, humana quoad superiora, sed semifera, et in capræ pedes

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desinens. Gestabat autem insignia potestatis, sinistra fistulam, ex septem calamis compactam; dextra pedum, sive lignum superius curvum et inflexum; induebatur autem chlamyde ex pelle pardalis. Potestates ei et munera hujusmodi attribuuntur, ut sit deus venatorum, etiam pastorum, et in universum ruricolarum; præses item montium: erat etiam proximus Mercurio nuncius deorum. Habebatur insuper dux et imperator nympharum, quæ circa eum perpetuo choreas ducere et tripudiare solebant; comitabantur et Satyri, et his seniores Sileni. Habebat etiam potestatem terrores immittendi, præsertim inanes et superstitiosos, qui et Panici vocati sunt. Res gestæ autem ejus non multæ memorantur: illud præcipuum, quod Cupidinem provocavit ad luctam, a quo etiam in certamine victus est. Etiam Typhonem gigantem retibus implicavit et cohibuit; atque narrant insuper, cum Ceres mœsta et ob raptam Proserpinam indignata se abscondisset, atque dii omnes ad eam investigandam magnopere incubuissent, et se per varias vias dispertiti essent; Pani solummodo ex felicitate quadam contigisse, ut inter venandum eam inveniret et indicaret. Ausus est quoque cum Apolline de victoria musices decertare, atque etiam Mida judice prælatus est: ob quod judicium Midas asininas aures tulit, sed clam et secreto. Amores Panis nulli referuntur, aut saltem admodum rari, quod mirum inter turbam deorum prorsus tam profuse amatoriam videri possit. Illud solummodo ei datur, quod Echo adamaret, quæ etiam uxor ejus habita est, atque unam etiam nympham, Syringam nomine, in quam propter iram et vindictam Cupidinis (quem ad luctam provocare non reveritus esset) incensus est. Neque etiam prolem ullam suscepit (quod similiter mirum est, cum

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dii præsertim masculi prolifici admodum essent) nisi quod ei tribuatur tanquam filia, muliercula quædam ancilla Iambe nomine, quæ ridiculis narratiunculis oblectare hospites solebat, ejusque proles ex conjuge Echo esse a nonnullis existimabatur:

Fabula nobilis, si quæ alia, atque naturæ arcanis et mysteriis gravida, et quasi distenta.

Pan (ut et nomen ipsum etiam sonat) Universitatem Rerum, sive Naturam, repræsentat et proponit. De hujus origine duplex omnino sententia est; atque adeo esse potest: aut enim a Mercurio est, verbo scilicet divino (quod et sacræ literæ extra controversiam ponunt, et philosophis iis qui magis divini habiti sunt visum est), aut ex confusis rerum seminibus. Qui enim unum rerum principium posuerunt, aut ad Deum illud retulerunt; aut si materiatum principium volunt, illud tamen potentia varium asseruerunt: adeo ut omnis hujusmodi controversia ad illam distributionem reducatur, ut mundus sit vel a Mercurio vel a procis omnibus.

> Namque canebat uti magnum per inane coacta
> Semina terrarumque animæque marisque fuissent
> Et liquidi simul ignis, et his exordia primis
> Omnia, et ipse tener mundi concreverit orbis.

Tertia autem generatio Panis ejusmodi est, ut videantur Græci aliquid de Hebræorum mysteriis, vel per Ægyptios internuncios vel utcunque inaudivisse; pertinet enim ad statum mundi non in meris natalibus suis, sed post lapsum Adami, morti et corruptioni expositum et obnoxium factum. Ille enim status Dei et peccati proles fuit, ac manet. Itaque triplex ista narratio de generatione Panis etiam vera videri possit, si rite et rebus et temporibus distinguatur: nam iste Pan, quem intuemur et contemplamur, ac nimio plus quam

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oportet colimus, ex verbo divino, mediante confusa materia (quæ et ipsa a Deo creata erat),[1] et subintrante prævaricatione et corruptione, ortum habet. Naturæ rerum, Fata rerum sorores vere perhibentur et ponuntur; naturalium siquidem causarum catenæ ortus rerum, et durationes, et interitus, et depressiones, et eminentias, et labores, et felicitates, et fata denique omnia quæ rebus accidere possunt, trahunt. Cornua autem mundo attribuuntur. Quod vero cornua hujusmodi ab imo latiora, ad verticem acuta sint; id eo spectat, quod omnis rerum natura instar pyramidis acuta sit:[2] individua enim infinita sunt; ea colliguntur in species et ipsas multiplices; species rursus insurgunt in genera; atque hæc quoque ascendendo in magis generalia contrahuntur, ut tandem natura tanquam in unum coire videatur. Neque mirum est Panis cornua etiam cœlum ferire; cum summitates naturæ sive ideæ universales etiam ad divina quodammodo pertingant. Paratus enim et propinquus est transitus a metaphysica ad theologiam naturalem. Corpus autem naturæ elegantissime et verissime depingitur hirsutum, propter rerum radios; radii enim sunt tanquam naturæ crines, sive villi, atque omnia fere vel magis vel minus radiosa sunt; quod in facultate visus manifestissimum est, nec minus in omni virtute et operatione ad distans; quicquid enim operatur ad distans, id etiam radios emittere recte dici potest; sed maxime omnium prominet barba Panis, quia radii corporum cœlestium maxime ex longinquo operantur et penetrant. Quin et sol, quando parte superiore ejus nube obvoluta radii inferius erum-

[1] The words within the parenthesis are not in Ed. 1609.

[2] In Ed. 1609 this sentence stood thus: *Cornua autem Mundo attribuuntur; quod Cornua hujusmodi ab imo latiora, ad verticem acuta sint; Omnis enim rerum natura instar Pyramidis acuta est.*

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punt, ad aspectum barbatus cernitur. Etiam corpus naturæ rectissime describitur biforme, ob differentiam corporum superiorum et inferiorum. Illa enim ob pulchritudinem et motus æquabilitatem et constantiam, necnon imperium in terram et terrestria, merito sub humana figura repræsentantur: hæc autem ob perturbationem et motus incompositos, et quod a cœlestibus regantur, bruti animalis figura contenta esse possunt. Eadem corporis descriptio pertinet ad participationem specierum. Nulla enim natura simplex videri potest, sed tanquam ex duobus participans et concreta. Habet enim homo nonnihil ex bruto, brutum nonnihil ex planta, planta nonnihil ex corpore inanimato, omniaque revera biformia sunt, et ex specie superiore et inferiore compacta. Acutissima autem est allegoria de pedibus capræ, propter motum ascensionis corporum terrestrium versus regiones aëris et cœli: capra enim animal scansorium est, eaque e rupibus pendere atque in præcipitiis hærere amat; quod etiam res licet inferiori globo destinatæ miris modis faciunt, ut in nubibus et meteoris manifestissimum est. Insignia autem in manibus Panis duplicia. Alterum harmoniæ, alterum imperii. Fistula enim ex septem calamis concentum rerum et harmoniam, sive concordiam cum discordia mistam, quæ ex septem stellarum errantium motu conficitur, evidenter ostendit. Pedum autem illud etiam nobilis translatio est; propter vias naturæ partim rectas, partim obliquas. Præcipue autem lignum, sive virga, versus superiorem partem curva est: quia omnia providentiæ divinæ opera in mundo fere per ambages et circuitus fiunt; ut aliud agi videri possit, aliud interim revera agatur; ut Josephi venditio in Ægyptum, et similia. Quinetiam in regimine humano omni prudentiore, qui

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ad gubernacula sedent, populo convenientia per prætextus et vias obliquas felicius quæ volunt, quam ex directo, superinducunt et insinuant; adeo ut omnis imperii virga sive bacillum vere superius inflexum sit. Vestis Panis et amiculum ingeniose admodum ex pelle pardalis fuisse fingitur; propter maculas ubique sparsas; cœlum enim stellis, maria insulis, tellus floribus consperguntur; atque etiam res particulares fere variegatæ esse solent circa superficiem, quæ veluti rei chlamys est. Officium autem Panis nulla alia re tam ad vivum proponi atque explicari potuerit, quam ut Deus venatorum sit. Omnis enim naturalis actio, atque adeo motus et processus, nihil aliud quam venatio est. Nam et scientiæ et artes opera sua venantur, et concilia humana fines suos, atque res naturales omnes vel alimenta sua tanquam prædam, vel voluptates suas tanquam solatium, venantur, idque modis peritis et sagacibus.

Torva leæna lupum sequitur, lupus ipse capellam,
Florentem cytisum sequitur lasciva capella.

Etiam ruricolarum in genere Pan deus est, quia hujusmodi homines magis secundum naturam vivant, cum in urbibus et aulis natura a cultu nimio corrumpatur; ut illud poëtæ amatorium verum sit;

Pars minima est ipsa puella sui.

Montium autem imprimis præses dicitur Pan, quia in montibus et locis editis natura rerum panditur, atque oculis et contemplationi magis subjicitur. Quod alter a Mercurio deorum nuncius sit Pan, ea allegoria plane divina est, cum proxime post verbum Dei, ipsa mundi imago divinæ potentiæ et sapientiæ præconium sit. Quod et poëta divinus cecinit: *Cœli enarrant gloriam Dei, atque opera manuum ejus indicat firmamentum.* Pana au-

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tem oblectant nymphæ; animæ scilicet; deliciæ enim mundi, animæ viventium sunt: ille autem merito earum imperator, cum illæ naturam quæque suam veluti ducem sequantur, et circa eam cum infinita varietate, veluti singulæ more patrio, saltent et choreas ducant, motu neutiquam cessante: una perpetuo comitantur Satyri et Sileni; senectus scilicet et juventus; omnium enim rerum est ætas quædam hilaris et saltatrix; atque rursus ætas tarda et bibula: utriusque autem ætatis studia vere contemplanti (tanquam Democrito) fortasse ridicula et deformia videntur, instar Satyri alicujus aut Sileni. De Panicis autem terroribus prudentissima doctrina proponitur: natura enim rerum omnibus viventibus indidit metum ac formidinem, vitæ atque essentiæ suæ conservatricem, ac mala ingruentia vitantem et depellentem: veruntamen eadem natura modum tenere nescia est; sed timoribus salutaribus semper vanos et inanes admiscet, adeo ut omnia (si intus conspici darentur) Panicis terroribus plenissima sint; præsertim humana, quæ superstitione (quæ vere nihil aliud quam Panicus terror est) in immensum laborant; maxime temporibus duris et trepidis et adversis. Quod vero attinet ad audaciam Panis, et pugnam per provocationem cum Cupidine; id eo spectat, quia materia non caret inclinatione et appetitu ad dissolutionem mundi et redicivationem in illud Chaos antiquum, nisi prævalida rerum concordia (per Amorem sive Cupidinem significata) malitia et impetus ejus cohiberetur et in ordinem compelleretur: itaque bono admodum hominum et rerum fato fit, ut illud certamen Pan adversum experiatur, et victus abscedat. Eodem prorsus pertinet et illud de Typhone in retibus implicato; quia utcunque aliquando

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vasti et insoliti rerum tumores sint (id quod Typhon sonat) sive intumescant maria, sive intumescant nubes, sive intumescat terra, sive alia, tamen Rerum Natura hujusmodi corporum exuperantias atque insolentias reti inextricabili implicat et coërcet, et veluti catena adamantina devincit. Quod autem inventio Cereris huic deo attribuitur, idque inter venationem; reliquis diis negatur, licet sedulo quærentibus et illud ipsum agentibus; monitum habet verum admodum et prudens; hoc est, ne rerum utilium ad vitam et cultum inventio, qualis fuit segetum,[1] a philosophiis abstractis, tanquam diis majoribus, expectetur, licet totis viribus in illud ipsum incumbant; sed tantummodo a Pane, id est, experientia sagaci et rerum mundi notitia universali, quæ etiam casu quodam ac veluti inter venandum in hujusmodi inventa incidere solet. Illud autem musices certamen, ejusque eventus, salutarem exhibet doctrinam, atque eam quæ rationi et judicio humano gestienti et se efferenti sobrietatis vincula injicere possit. Duplex enim videtur esse Harmonia et quasi musica: altera providentiæ divinæ, altera rationis humanæ. Judicio enim humano, ac veluti auribus mortalium, administratio mundi et rerum, et judicia divina secretiora, sonant aliquid durum et quasi absonum: quæ inscitia licet asininis auribus merito insigniatur, tamen et ipsæ illæ aures secreto nec palam gestantur: neque enim hujusce rei deformitas a vulgo conspicitur aut notatur. Postremo, minime mirum est si nulli amores Pani attribuantur, præter conjugium Echus; mundus enim seipso,[2] atque in se rebus omnibus fruitur: qui amat autem, frui

[1] The words *quale fuit segetum* are not in Ed. 1609.
[2] *se ipse.* Ed. 1609.

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vult, neque in copia desiderio locus est. Itaque mundi amores esse nulli possunt, nec potiendi cupido, cum seipso[1] contentus sit, nisi fortasse sermones: ii sunt nympha, Echo, aut si accuratiores sint, Syringa. Inter sermones autem, sive voces, excellenter ad conjugium mundi sumitur sola Echo; ea enim demum vera est philosophia, quæ mundi ipsius voces fidelissime reddit, et veluti dictante mundo conscripta est; et nihil aliud est quam ejusdem simulacrum et reflexio, neque addit quicquam de proprio, sed tantum iterat et resonat. Ad mundi etiam sufficientiam et perfectionem pertinet, quod prolem non edat. Ille enim per partes generat; per totum autem quomodo generare possit? cum corpus extra ipsum non sit. Nam de filia ejus putativa, muliercula illa, est sane ea adjectio quædam ad fabulam sapientissima; per illam enim repræsentantur eæ quæ perpetuis temporibus passim vagantur, atque omnia implent, vaniloquæ de rerum natura doctrinæ, re ipsa infructuosæ, genere quasi subdititiæ, garrulitate vero interdum jucundæ, interdum molestæ et importunæ.

VII.

PERSEUS,

SIVE BELLUM.

Fabula hæc invenitur, in libro secundo De Augmentis Scientiarum, aucta et locupletata.

Perseus traditur fuisse a Pallade missus ad obtruncandam Medusam, quæ populis plurimis ad occidentem in extremis Hiberiæ partibus maximæ calamitati fuit. Monstrum enim hoc tam dirum atque horrendum fuit, ut

[1] *seipse.* Ed. 1609.

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aspectu solo homines in saxa verteret. Erat autem e Gorgonibus una ac sola mortalis Medusa; cum passivæ reliquæ non essent. Itaque Perseus ad tam nobile facinus se comparans, arma ac dona a tribus diis accepit: talares alas a Mercurio, a Plutone galeam, scutum a Pallade et speculum. Neque tamen, licet tanto apparatu instructus, ad Medusam recta perrexit; sed primum ad Græas divertit: eæ sorores ex altera parente Gorgonibus erant. Atque Grææ istæ canæ jam a nativitate erant, et tanquam vetulæ. Oculus autem iis tantummodo et dens erat omnibus unicus; quos prout exire foras quamque contigerat; vicissim gestare, reversæ autem iterum deponere solebant: hunc itaque oculum atque hunc dentem illæ Perseo commodarunt. Tum demum cum se abunde ad destinata perficienda instructum judicaret, ad Medusam properavit impiger et volans. Illam autem dormientem offendit. Neque tamen aspectui ejus (si evigilaret) se committere audebat; sed cervice reflexa, in speculum Palladis inspiciens, atque hoc modo ictus dirigens, caput ei abscidit. Ex sanguine autem Medusæ fuso, statim Pegasus alatus emicuit. Caput autem abscissum Perseus in scutum Palladis inseruit, cui etiamnum sua mansit vis, ut ad ejus intuitum omnes ceu attoniti aut siderati obrigerent.

Fabula de belligerandi ratione et prudentia conficta videtur. Atque in ipsa de bello suscipiendo et de genere belli eligendo deliberatione, tria proponit præcepta sana et gravia, tanquam ex consilio Palladis. Primo, ut de subjugatione nationum finitimarum quis non admodum laboret. Neque enim eadem est patrimonii et imperii amplificandi ratio. Nam in possessionibus privatis, vicinitas prædiorum spectatur; sed in

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propagando imperio, occasio, et belli conficiendi facilitas et fructus, loco vicinitatis esse debent.[1] Certe Romani, quo tempore occidentem versus vix ultra Liguriam penetraverant, orientis provincias usque ad montem Taurum armis et imperio complexi sunt. Itaque Perseus, licet orientalis, tamen longinquam expeditionem usque ad extrema occidentis minime detrectavit. Secundo, curæ esse debet, ut justa et honorifica subsit belli causa; id enim et alacritatem tum militibus tum populis impensas conferentibus addit, et societates aperit et conciliat, et plurimas denique commoditates habet. Nulla autem belli causa magis pia sit, quam debellatio tyrannidis, sub qua populus succumbit et prosternitur sine animis et vigore, tanquam sub aspectu Medusæ. Tertio, prudenter additur, quod cum tres Gorgones fuerint (per quas bella repræsentantur), Perseus illam delegerit quæ fuerit mortalis; hoc est, bellum ejus conditionis quod confici et ad exitum perduci posset; nec vastas aut infinitas spes persecutus est. Instructio autem Persei ea est, quæ ad bellum unice confert, et fortunam fere trahit. Accepit enim celeritatem a Mercurio, occultationem consiliorum ab Orco, et providentiam a Pallade. Neque caret allegoria, eaque prudentissima, quod alæ illæ celeritatis talares, non axillares, fuerint, atque pedibus non humeris additæ: quia non tam in primis belli aggressibus, quam in eis quæ sequuntur et primis subsidio sunt, celeritas requiritur: nullus enim error in bellis magis frequens est, quam quod prosecutiones et subsidiarii impetus initorum alacritati non respondent. Etiam illa providentiæ divisio (nam de galea Plutonis, quæ homines invisibiles reddere solebat, parabola manifesta est) in-

[1] *debet.* Ed. 1609.

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geniosa videtur, de scuto et speculo; neque enim ea providentia solum adhibenda est quæ cavet instar scuti, sed illa altera per quam hostium vires et motus et consilia cernuntur, instar speculi Palladis. Verum Perseo utcunque copiis aut animis instructo, restat aliud quiddam maximi per omnia momenti antequam incipiatur bellum, nimirum ut divertat ad Græas. Grææ autem proditiones sunt; bellorum scilicet sorores, non germanæ illæ quidem, sed generis nobilitate quasi impares. Bella enim generosa, proditiones degeneres et turpes. Earum descriptio elegans est; ut canæ a nativitate sint et tanquam vetulæ; propter perpetuas proditorum curas et trepidationes. Earum autem vis (antequam in manifestam defectionem erumpant) aut in oculo aut in dente est. Omnis enim factio a statu quopiam alienata, et speculatur et mordet. Atque hujusmodi oculus et dens tanquam communis est. Nam quæ didicerunt et noverunt, fere per manus factionis ab uno ad alterum transeunt et percurrunt. Et quod ad dentem attinet, uno fere ore mordent, et similem cantilenam canunt, ut si unum audias omnes audias. Itaque Perseo conciliandæ sunt istæ Grææ, ut oculum et dentem ei commodent: oculum ad indicia, dentem ad rumores serendos, et invidiam conflandam, et animos hominum sollicitandos. His itaque dispositis et præparatis, sequitur ipsa belli actio. In ea Medusam dormientem invenit. Prudens enim belli susceptor semper fere hostem assequitur imparatum et securitati propiorem. Atque nunc tandem speculo Palladis opus est; plurimi enim ante ipsa pericula res hostium acute et attente introspicere possunt; sed in ipso periculi articulo præcipuus est usus speculi, ut modus periculi cernatur, terror non offundatur: (quod per illum intuitum capite averso sig-

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